

General Editors

PATRICK GEARY, GERHARD JARITZ, GÁBOR KLANICZAY, PAVLÍNA RYCHTEROVÁ

Chronica de Gestis
Hungarorum
e Codice Picto Saec. xiv.

The Illuminated Chronicle
Chronicle of the Deeds of the
Hungarians from the Fourteenth-
Century Illuminated Codex



Edited and Translated by
JÁNOS M. BAK and LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY
with a Preface by
NORBERT KERSKEN

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CHRONICA DE GESTIS HUNGARORUM
E CODICE PICTO SAEC. XIV.



CHRONICLE OF THE DEEDS OF THE
HUNGARIANS FROM THE FOURTEENTH-
CENTURY ILLUMINATED CODEX

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

We publish the present volume, containing the most extensive compilation of historical traditions of the medieval kingdom of Hungary in cooperation with the National Széchényi Library, keeper of the Illuminated Chronicle on the text of which it is based.

Considering the size of the text and translation, together with the reproduction of the miniatures—and the extensive literature about text and images—it was not possible to include the usual introduction on manuscripts, authors, style, and so on into the same volume. Therefore, the General Editors are also publishing an accompanying volume, *Studies to the Illuminated Chronicle* as CEMT Subsidia 1, with eight essays on relevant issues. The present volume has only a minimal Introduction and a Preface by Norbert Kersken, well-known student of “national chronicles” of medieval Central Europe.

With the two earlier *Gesta*, those of Anonymus (CEMT 5) and of Simon of Kéza (CEMT 1) as well as the hagiographic literature in the two volumes edited by Gábor Klaniczay (CEMT 6-7), we made thus available in bi-lingual editions all the major works of medieval historiography in Hungary, written before the Humanist histories of the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries

The General Editors are grateful for the cooperation of the National Széchényi Library and all the participants in the preparation of this volume, quite particularly to the team of the CEU Press for having managed the rather difficult process of the production.

P. G.—G. J.—G. K.—P. R.

Norbert Kersken

THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE IN THE CONTEXT OF MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

Fully to appreciate the IC, it has to be placed among the illuminated chronicles (*Bilderchroniken*) in terms of its form, and among the late medieval national chronicles concerning its contents.

Only a small part of medieval chronical texts features images of persons or historical situations. They can be distinguished according to the types of illustrations, the relationship between text and picture, historiographical genre, and regional specifics.¹ Combinations of historical narratives and images are of three kinds: commented or explained sequences of pictures; chronicles occasionally augmented by pictures, and illuminated chronicles proper. Chronicles and hagiographies with images existed ever since the early Middle Ages, such as the eighth-century Petersburg and Tiberius manuscripts of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*,² but they were rather exceptions and most surviving chronicle texts older than the fourteenth century are without illuminations.³

Commented picture-series are dominated by the images, augmented by a commentary. Few of these survive from the European Mid-

¹ For a general survey see Andrea Worm, "Illustration cycles," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Graeme Dumphy, gen., ed., Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2010, 1: 846-869

² *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Ed. Bertram Colgrave, R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969 (Oxford Medieval Texts), XLIV, XLVf.; Cf. Meyer Schapiro, "The decoration of the Leningrad manuscript of Bede," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 191-207; repr. in Idem, *Selected papers* 3, New York: Braziller, 1977, 199-224.

³ See Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica maiora*, Berkeley, &c.: University of California Press, 1987 (California studies in the history of art 21), 36 sq.

dle Ages. Best known is perhaps the Bayeux Tapestry, produced probably in southern England after 1070, sponsored by Bishop Odo, half-brother of William the Conqueror. It narrates the Norman conquest of England in 58 single scenes with explanatory titles.⁴ A later example is the so-called *Romfahrt* of Emperor Henry VII, a cycle of pictures presenting the voyage of the king to Rome in 1310/13 for the imperial coronation. It was made in 1340-45 on the behest of Henry's brother Archbishop Baldwin of Trier. It contains images on 37 pages, two scenes each, beginning with Baldwin's consecration in 1307 and ending with Henry's burial in 1313. The water-colored pen drawings on parchment have short captions.⁵

Chronicles with occasional images are narrative texts of which some copies are enriched by illuminations. The texts of these were copied—and, later, printed—also without images, so that they are not necessarily perceived as “picture books.” Several of them exist from as early as the twelfth century. The oldest ones are five illustrated manuscripts of the *Chronicon universale* by Frutolf of Michelsberg continued by Ekkehard of Aura from the mid-twelfth century. The illuminations present tables of rulers as genealogies or succession lists and for the first time a historical event as well: Henry IV handing over the imperial insignia to his son Henry V.⁶ An important innovation can be dated into this time: the transition from genealogical tables to narrative picture cycles. The Jena

⁴ David McKenzie Wilson, ed., *The Bayeux Tapestry. The Complete Tapestry in Color*, New York: Knopf 1985; online facsimile: http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost11/Bayeux/bay_intr.html and <http://hastings1066.com/bay-thumb.shtml> (last accessed 12.12.2016)

⁵ *Der Weg zur Kaiserkrone. Der Romzug Heinrichs VII. in der Darstellung Erzbischof Balduins von Trier*. Eds. Michel Margue, Michel Pauly, and Wolfgang Schmid, Trier: Kliomedia, 2009 (Publications du Centre luxembourgeois de Documentation et d'Etudes Médiévales 24), 33-108.

⁶ Claudia Annette Meier, “Chronikillustrationen im hohen Mittelalter: Zur Entstehung des Ereignisbildes im Bild-Text-Bezug,” in: *Hochmittelalterliches Geschichtsbewußtsein im Spiegel nichthistoriographischer Quellen*. Ed. Hans-Werner-Goetz, Berlin 1998, 357-376, here 358-367; Idem, *Chronicon pictum. Von den Anfängen der Chronikenillustration zu den narrativen Bilderzyklen in den Weltchroniken des hohen Mittelalters*, Mainz: Chorus, 2005, 21-46.

manuscript of Otto of Freising's chronicle is regarded a copy of the presentation manuscript to Frederick Barbarossa of 1157, suggesting that the illumination goes back to the author. There are fourteen miniatures, some combining more than one scene.⁷

From the thirteenth century, we have two important examples of chronicles with pictures. First, there are two manuscripts of the Cologne *Chronica Sancti Pantaleonis* dated to the years after 1237 provided with stemmata of the German dynasties and colored pictures of German kings and emperors⁸ A contemporary of it is the probably most extensive English narrative of the century, the *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris.⁹ The St Albans monk continued the chronicle of his predecessor Roger Wendover and added 130 drawings to it and to his own text. They are single-subject marginal drawings of narrative scenes explaining or expanding the text or portraits. There are four late thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Sächsische Weltchronik* from about the same time. This first vernacular prose universal chronicle is decorated with busts and framed miniatures, some of them of quite high quality.¹⁰

The illuminated version of the most important eastern Slav-ic chronicle, one of the redactions of the Rus' primary chronicle,

⁷ See the bi-lingual edition: Otto Bischof von Freising, *Chronik oder Die Geschichte der zwei Staaten*. Ed.. Walther Lammers, Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 1960 (Freiherr vom Stein Gedächtnisausgabe 16) after. LXIX; to the images, see Meier, *Chronikillustrationen*, 371-375; Idem, *Chronicon pictum*, 72-98; Franz Nagel, "Otto von Freising's 'Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus Das Jenaer Manuskript (Ms. Bos. 1. 6) und seine Illustrationen," in: *Welt – Zeit. Weltchronistik aus zwei Jahrtausenden in Beständen der Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Jena*. Ed. Martin Wallraff, Berlin: de Gruyter 2005, 32-58; Idem, *Die Weltchronik des Otto von Freising und die Bildkultur des Hochmittelalters*, Marburg: Tectum, 2012, esp. 13-94.

⁸ See Meier, "Chronikillustrationen," 369-371.

⁹ See Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*.

¹⁰ Roderich Schmidt, "Zu den Bilderhandschriften der Sächsischen Weltchronik," in: *Sprache und Recht. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand zum 60. Geburtstag*, Vol. 2, Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1986, 742-779. Repr: Idem, "Weltordnung – Herrschaftsordnung im europäischen Mittelalter. Darstellung und Deutung durch Rechtsakt, Wort und Bild," in *Bibliotheca eruditorum*, 14, Goldbach: Keip, 2004, 269*-305*]

the so-called Radziwiłł-Manuscript, also belongs to the thirteenth century, although known only from a late fifteenth-century copy. It contains as many as 617 colored miniatures, in all likelihood going back to the original.¹¹

In the fourteenth century, several other chronicles came to be illustrated. They include the *Historia regum Anglorum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth (first quarter of the century),¹² the widely copied *Cronica summorum pontificum imperatorumque* of Martinus Polonus (c. 1277), and the Iglau manuscript of 1393, the only complete witness of the Zbraslav chronicle, the *Chronicon aulae regiae*.¹³ The very popular *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden was also produced in several copies enhanced by decoration and illustration.¹⁴

Not belonging to chronical writing in a strict sense is the so-called Schlackenwerth-Codex. This is a manuscript that was written in 1353 on behalf of Louis I of Brzeg and contains hagiographical texts for the veneration of St Hedwig of Silesia. The codex has on 33 folios 65 colored illustrations following the chapters of the *Legenda maior* of St Hedwig.¹⁵

¹¹ *Radzivilovskaja letopis'*. Ed. M. V. Kukuškina. 1: Faksimil'noe vosproizvedenie rukopisi; 2: Tekst, issledovanie, opisanie miniatjur, Sankt-Peterburg &c.: Glagol, 1994.

¹² Julia Crick, *The Historia regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. Vol. 3: A summary catalogue of the manuscripts, Cambridge &c.: Brewer, 1989, Nr. 22: 33f.; Nr. 59: 58f.; Nr. 114: 186-188; Nr. 118: 193-196; Nr. 131: 114f.; Nr. 146: 233f.

¹³ Josef Emler, ed., *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, Vol. 4, Prague: Nákl. nadání Františka Palackého 1884, XVsq; Josef Krása, "Die Chronik von Zbraslav (Königsaal), Böhmen, 1393," in: *Die Parler und der schöne Stil 1350 - 1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern*. Ed. Anton Legner. Vol. 2: Ein Handbuch zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kölner Kunsthalle, Köln: Museen der Stadt Köln, 1978, 745.

¹⁴ Lynda Dennison, Nicholas J. Rogers, "A medieval best-seller. Some examples of decorated copies of Higden's 'Polychronicon'," in: *The church and learning in later medieval society. Essays in honour of R. B. Dobson. Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton symposium*, Eds. Caroline M. Barron and Jemmy Stratford Donington : Shaun Tyas, 2002 (Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11) 80-99.

¹⁵ *Der Hedwigs-Codex von 1353. Sammlung Ludwig*. Ed. Wolfgang Braunfels. Vol. 1: Faksimile der vollständigen Handschrift; vol. 2: Texte und Kommentare, Berlin 1972; herein the article by Josef Krása, and Klaus Kratzsch, "Beschreibung der Handschrift und kunsthistorische Einordnung der Miniaturen," 9-51.

It was in this time that a specific type of illustrated chronicle emerged: a group of Middle-High German universal chronicles. More than fifty illuminated manuscripts of the rhymed chronicles of Rudolf von Ems (mid-thirteenth century), of Jans Enikel (early fourteenth) and the later narrative of Heinrich von München are known from the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.¹⁶ A widely copied universal chronicle was the one by the Franciscan John de Utino from the mid- fourteenth century combining an illustrated biblical history with a brief chronicle of popes and emperors. Around 1460, the latter was expanded, the Latin chronicle was translated into German, and the text was enriched by a series of medallions with typified pictures, adding popes, emperors and kings to the patriarchs and prophets.¹⁷

The so-called *Bibles Historiale* have a close connection to the universal chronicles. These are vernacular redactions of the biblical history based on the Vulgate, the *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor (died 1178)¹⁸ and the universal chronicles mentioned above. Many fourteenth-fifteenth-century- copies of the French *Bible historiale* by Guyart des Moulins (from the end of the thirteenth century) were richly decorated with illuminations.¹⁹ In the German language area, *Bibles Historiale* became popular since the late fourteenth century. A great part of these codices (more than 40 manuscripts) was provided with illuminations in the fif-

¹⁶ Norbert H. Ott, "Typen der Weltchronik-Ikonographie. Bemerkungen zu Illustration, Anspruch und Gebrauchssituation volkssprachlicher Chronistik aus überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Sicht," in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft* 1 (1980/1981) 29-55; Jörn-Uwe Günther, *Die illustrierten mittelhochdeutschen Weltchronikhandschriften in Versen. Katalog der Handschriften und Einordnung der Illustrationen in die Bildüberlieferung*, Munich: tuduv, 1993 (Tuduv-Studien: Reihe Kunstgeschichte 48).

¹⁷ Ott, "Typen," 44-46; Andrea Worm, "Iohannes de Utino," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1: 876-878; Tünde Radek, "Zu den deutschsprachigen Handschriften der „Weltchronik“ des Johannes de Utino aus dem 15. Jahrhundert," in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 142 (2013) 45-55.

¹⁸ For illustrated manuscripts see Meier, *Chronicon pictum* (as n. 6) 110-120.

¹⁹ Eléonore Fournié, *L'iconographie de la Bible historiale*, Turnhout: Brepols 2012 (Répertoire iconographique de la littérature du Moyen Âge. Le corpus du RILMA 2).

teenth century, especially in southern Germany (Alsace, Bavaria, Austria).²⁰

Another special group consists of the translations of chronicles embellished with illustrations, produced from the middle of the fourteenth century onward. An even earlier example is the Middle French version of William of Tyre's crusading chronicle, the *L'estoire d'Eracle*.²¹ Among the many translation from Latin by Jean de Vignay (first half of the fourteenth century), the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, the *Miroir historial*, prepared for French courtly circles (Joan of Burgundy, Jean le Bon) survived in a good number of manuscripts illustrated with colored pictures.²² A, probably north Italian, copy of the Latin translation of the Czech vernacular chronicle, the so-called Dalimil, made for John of Luxembourg around 1330-40 was decorated with 24 large pictures.²³ To the late fifteenth century belongs also the illuminated manuscript of the Czech translation of the Pulkava Chronicle.²⁴ From the later fifteenth century, we have the Czech translation of the autobiography of Charles IV with colored miniatures,²⁵ an illustrated

²⁰ Ute von Bloh, *Die illustrierten Historienbibeln. Text und Bild in Prolog und Schöpfungsgeschichte der deutschsprachigen Historienbibeln des Spätmittelalters*, Bern &c.: Lang, 1993 (Vestigia bibliae 13/14).

²¹ Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs. Texte français du XIIIe siècle, Ed. Paulin Paris, 2 vols., Paris: Firmin Didot, 1879-1880; digitalized versions of some illuminated manuscripts at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/services/engine/search/sru?operation=searchRetrieve&version=1.2&query=%28gallica%20all%20%22eracles%22%29&suggest=0> (last accessed 17.1.2017); see Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader manuscript illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275 – 1291*, Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press 1976, with a catalogue (171-214) describing the manuscripts, the illuminations, and the historiated initials.

²² Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, *The Miroir historial of Jean le Bon. The Leiden manuscript and its related copies*, Diss. Phil. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1988.

²³ *Dalimilova kronika. Pařížský zlomek latinského překladu*, Prague: Gloriet, 2005.

²⁴ Mojmír Švábenský, *Cerroniho sbírka 13. stol. - 1845*. Vol. 2, Brno: Státní Oblastní Archiv, 1973 (Inventáře a katalogy fondu Státního Ústředního Archivu v Praze 26) 560f.: Nr. Cerr II, 328; Marie Bláhová, *Kroniky doby Karla IV*, Prague: Svoboda, 1987, 578, Fig. 442f.

²⁵ Emler, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, Vol. 3, 1882, 335; Josef Krása, "K výtvarnému doprovodu Vlastního životopisu Karla IV," in: *Vita Caroli Quarti. Karol IV. Vlastní životopis*, Prague: Odeon, 1978, 203-223, here 205sq.; Marie Bláhová, "Soudobé

manuscript of the German translation of the *Historia Welforum* (twelfth century) with 39 full figures,²⁶ and an unfinished copy of William of Tyre for Robert Briçonnet from Rouen.²⁷

Illuminated chronicles proper should be called those manuscripts in which the pictures are not merely occasional illustrations added to some exemplars, but where text and image are closely connected and mutually related to each other. The earliest example would be the panegyric rhymed chronicle written and illuminated for Emperor Henry VI about the Hohenstaufen conquest of Sicily by Petrus de Ebulo (c. 1196). On its 53 bifolios, the images on the right side explain and augment the text on the left.²⁸ Such expensive illuminated chronicles became more widespread in the fourteenth century. The *Chronicon episcoporum Verdensium*, written in the 1330s, presents the history of the north German bishopric with 36 portraits of prelates with a framed, colored image accompanying every chapter.²⁹

kroniky o Karlovi IV". in: Idem, Zuzana Luksová, and Martin Nodl, Eds. *Karel IV. v soudobých kronikách*, Prague: Argo, 2016, 31-64, here 35-40; a splendid colored facsimile of both manuscripts is printed in the same volume, on pp. 130-159.

²⁶ Johannes von Arnoldi, "Beschreibung eines Codex pictoratus der königlich-niederländischen Bibliothek im Haag, von neuerer Hand betitelt: Historia Guelphica cum iconibus. In fine historia S. sanguinis." in: *Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 3 (1821) 37-47.

²⁷ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1962 (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica 18) 219-222; Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 2 Bde., Turnhout: Brepols, 1986 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 63) 6.

²⁸ *Petrus de Ebulo - Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis. Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern. Eine Bilderchronik der Stauferzeit.* eds Theo Kölzer and Marlis Stähli, Textrevision und Übersetzung von Gereon Becht-Jördens, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994; Sibyl Kraft, *Ein Bilderbuch aus dem Königreich Sizilien. Kunsthistorische Studien zum „Liber ad honorem Augusti“ des Petrus von Eboli (Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern)* Weimar &c.: Hain, 2006 (Zürcher Schriften zur Kunst-, Architektur- und Kulturgeschichte 5); Nagel, *Die Weltchronik* (as n. 7) 183-203.

²⁹ *Chronicon episcoporum Verdensium. Die Chronik der Verdenener Bischöfe.* Hrsg. kommentiert und übers. von Thomas Vogtherr. Mit einem kunsthistorischen Beitr. von Stephan Kemperdick, Stade: Landschaftsverband der Ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden, 1998 (Schriftenreihe des Landschaftsverbandes der Ehemaligen Herzogtümer Bremen und Verden 10).

A new epoch of illuminated chronicles begins with the 1370s. The opener of this age is the IC from the late 1360s. The anonymous *Konstanzer Weltchronik*, with a number of colored pictures comes from around the same time. The images contain Biblical scenes, rulers' coats of arms, and a few events from the city's history.³⁰ For this age, the precious and representative codices of *Bildercheroniken*, produced as presentation copies for singular rulers, such as the IC, are characteristic. In the earlier Middle Ages such codices were usually devotional or liturgical books, but beginning with the mid-fourteenth century *Prachtkodexe* were also created with historical texts.³¹

The IC was soon followed by the Mecklenburgische Reimchronik written by Ernst of Kirchberg at the court of Albert II of Mecklenburg around 1378-79. This unfinished precious codex contains a series of enthroned rulers' portraits and a few pictures of events, thus still closer to the type of the Verden *gesta episcoporum* than to the IC.³² A further development of the genre was the 1375-80 version of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* for Charles V of France. With this redaction, the French national chronicle left the scriptorium of Sein-Denis in order to become connected to the royal court, at that time concerned with the legitimization of the succession of Philip VI, the first Valois king. This redaction displayed 175 miniatures and was produced in a good number of

³⁰ Theodor von Kern, "Eine Konstanzer Weltchronik aus dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts," in: *Zeitschrift für Geschichtskunde von Freiburg* 1 (1867/69) 179-235, on the images: 196; cf. also Harald Tersch, *Unruhe im Weltbild. Darstellung und Deutung des zeitgenössischen Lebens in deutschsprachigen Weltchroniken des Mittelalters*, Vienna &c.: Böhlau, 1996, 34f.; Hiram Kümper, "Konstanzer Weltchronik," in: *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*. Gen. ed. Graeme Dunphy, Leiden-Boston: Brill 2010, Vol. 2, 987.

³¹ Hierzu Norbert Ott, "Text und Bild," in: Mathias Kluge (Hrsg.), *Handschriften des Mittelalters. Grundwissen Kodikologie und Paläographie*, Ostfildern: Thorbecke 2014, 161-192, here 173-178

³² *Mecklenburgische Reimchronik des Ernst von Kirchberg*. Hrsg. von Christa Cordshagen / Roderich Schmidt, Köln u.a. 1997; Online: http://ub-goobi-pr2.ub.uni-greifswald.de/viewer/ppnresolver?id=PPNLHArchivChronik_001 (last accessed 12.1. 2017)

copies complete with illuminations for members of the court and the aristocracy.³³

In the following century, the illuminated chronicles experienced a boom; their examples were no more exclusively expensive courtly manuscripts. Narratives of contemporary history and some topically organized ones were produced in fair numbers. One of the major late medieval histories of *Zeitgeschichte* was Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* from the 1370-80s, widely distributed during the next century. Of the known 160 manuscripts the half had miniatures and 64 fully illuminated ones survived. The oldest witnesses come from Parisian workshops of the 1420s, but later some were produced in the Low Countries as well. The iconographical program is not always identical; some copies reflect specific interests of sponsors and choices of the artists.³⁴

The fifteenth century was the heyday of the illuminated manuscripts, some of them quite expensively produced. Eberhard Windeck, a merchant from Mainz with close relations to emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg, wrote a contemporary chronicle, the "Book of Emperor Sigismund" in the years before 1440. A redaction of this chronicle had been illustrated twice in the writer's workshop of Diebold Lauber in Haguenau, Alsace in the years 1445/50. One, uncomplete, manuscript preserved today in Ireland, has 174, mostly full page illustrations, a Vienna manuscript shows 246 illustrations.³⁵

³³ Anne D. Hedeman, "Restructuring the Narrative: The Function of Ceremonial in Charles V's 'Grandes Chroniques de France'". In: *Studies in the history of art* 16 (1985) 171-181; Bernard Guenée, "Les 'Grandes chroniques de France', 1274-1518" in: *Les Lieux de mémoire*. Ed. Pierre Nora. Vol. 2: La nation., Paris: Gallimard, 1986, 1: 189-215, here esp. 202-204.

³⁴ Godfried Croenen, "Froissart illustration cycles." in: *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 1: 645-650.

³⁵ Joachim Schneider, "Das illustrierte 'Buch von Kaiser Sigmund' des Eberhard Windeck. Der wiederaufgefundene Textzeuge aus der ehemaligen Bibliothek von Sir Thomas Phillipps in Cheltenham", in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 61 (2005) 169-180; idem, "Herrschererinnerung und symbolische Kommunikation am Hof König Sigismunds. Das Zeugnis der Chronik des Eberhard Windeck", in: Karel Hruza, Alexandra Kaar, eds., *Kaiser Sigismund (1368 - 1437)*.

The famous *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* by Ulrich Richental survived in 16 copies, seven of which are illustrated. The program of the illumination was conceived by the author and included 80 images, though none of the exemplars from the later fifteenth century contain all of them.³⁶ By this, we reached the era of the so-called Swiss *Bilderchroniken*. They include a number of chronicles oriented on contemporary history between ca. 1470 and ca. 1530, commissioned by the leading Swiss cities—Berne, Zürich, Lucerne—and are all richly illustrated.³⁷ Besides this southwest-German/Swiss tradition, there were less contemporary oriented works conceived as illuminated chronicles from the neighboring cultural region. Around 1470, Heinrich van Beeck from Cologne produced the *Agrippina*, the first comprehensive urban history for which the author designed a cycle of illustrations on ten pages and some additional illustrations exclusively with images of rulers important for the town's history.³⁸ The richly illustrated chronicles of Wigand von Gerstenberg (late fifteenth century), including the urban chronicle of Frankenberg, belong here. For the chronicle of Thuringia and Hesse, Wigand foresaw some 260 drawings for which he left instructions to the painter, but only 45 of them were completed.³⁹

Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen, Wien [u.a.] 2012 (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii* 31) 429–448; Martin Roland, “Was die Illustrationen zu Eberhard Windecks Sigismundbuch präsentieren, was man dahinter lesen kann und was verborgen bleibt”, ebenda, 449–466.

³⁶ *Chronik des Konstanzer Konzils 1414–1418 von Ulrich Richental*. Ed. Thomas Martin Buck, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010 (Konstanzer Geschichts- und Rechtsquellen 41); cf. Thomas Martin Buck, “Figuren, Bilder, Illustrationen. Zur piktoralen Literalität der Richental-Chronik,” in: *Scientia veritatis. Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag*, Ed. Oliver Münsch, Thomas Zotz, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004, 411–443.

³⁷ Carl Pfaff, *Die Welt der Schweizer Bilderchroniken*, Schwyz: Edition 91, 1991.

³⁸ Robert Meier, *Heinrich van Beeck und seine “Agrippina”. Ein Beitrag zur Kölner Chronistik des 15. Jahrhunderts. Mit einer Textdokumentation*, Cologne &c.: Böhlau, 1998 (Kölner historische Abhandlungen 41), Edition: 131–277; to the images, see 40–42, 85–88.

³⁹ *Wigand Gerstenberg von Frankenberg 1457–1522. Die Bilder aus seinen Chroniken. Thüringen und Hessen. Stadt Frankenberg*. Eds. Ursula Braasch-Schwersmann, Axel

The French and the Burgundian courts sponsored and supported several illuminated chronicles. A copy of the *Mare historiarum*, a universal chronicle of the Dominican Giovanni Colonna from the earlier fourteenth century, commissioned by Guillaume Jouvenel des Ursins, chancellor of the king of France and made ca. 1440, counts with its 734 colored miniatures as one of the most valuable medieval manuscripts.⁴⁰ Two other regional chronicles originate in the Burgundian courtly culture. In 1446/50, Jean Wauquelin, sponsored by Philip III the Good, produced the *Chroniques de Hainaut*, a French version of the *Annales historiae illustrium principum Hannoniae* written by Jacques de Guise half a century before. This representative folio manuscript of three volumes has 122 colored miniatures.⁴¹ Around 1475, in Bruges, after the author's death, a richly illustrated copy of the *Recueil des chroniques et anciennes istories de la Grant Bretagne* of Jean de Waurin, the Flandrian historian at the Burgundian court was prepared for King Edward IV of England.⁴² Around 1485/90 a short Burgundian chronicle, *Chroniques abrégées des Anciens Rois et Ducs de Bourgogne*, was written possibly by Olivier de la Marche, secretary at the Burgundian court and tutor of the future duke of Burgundy, Philip the Handsome; the manuscript is supplied with eleven full-page colored illuminations.⁴³

Halle, Marburg: Hessisches Landesamt für Geschichtliche Landeskunde, 2007 (Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte 23).

⁴⁰ Eberhard König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450. Der Jouvenel-Maler, der Maler der Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets*, Berlin: Mann, 1982, 27-41.

⁴¹ *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les Ambitions d'un Prince Bourguignon*. Eds. Pierre Cockshaw, Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000; Thomas Kren, "From Panel to Parchment and Back: Painters as Illuminators before 1470," in: *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. Eds. Thomas Kren, Scot McKendrick, Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003, 81-120, here 90-93.

⁴² Scot McKendrick, "Painting in Manuscripts of Vernacular Texts, circa 1467-1485," in: *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 223-312, here 276-281.

⁴³ See <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8137> (last accessed 12.1.2017)

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the first printed books replaced the medieval illuminated chronicles. Early examples are Flavio Biondo's *Italia illustrata* (1474),⁴⁴ the universal chronicle of Hartmann Schedel (*Liber chronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus*, 1493)⁴⁵ and the Cologne urban history, the *Koelhoffische Chronik* of 1499⁴⁶ with 368 colored woodcuts. It is noteworthy that in this historiographic development a Hungariaian contribution was highly significant: the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes de Thurocz, printed in 1488 in Brno and in Augsburg contained 66 colored woodcuts, both rulers' images and pictures of events, a pioneering work.⁴⁷ Many of the images went back to the IC and were later used in other historical works as well.

⁴⁴ Flavio Biondo, *Italia illustrata*. Ed. Paolo Pontari, Rome: Ist. Ital. del Medio Evo, 2011, 2014 (Edizione nazionale delle opere di Biondo Flavio 4, 1-2)

⁴⁵ Hartmann Schedel, *Weltchronik. Kolorierte Gesamtausgabe von 1493*. Ed. Stephan Füssel, Köln: Weltbild 2004; Online: Latin edition <http://daten.digitalesammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00034024/images/index.html?id=00034024&groesser=&fip=151.59.152.2&no=29&seite=1>; German edition: http://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/resolver?identifizier=4218&field=MD_DIGIMOID (last accessed 12.01.2017); see also "Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik," in: *Welt – Zeit* (as n. 7) 107-114 and Bernd Posselt, *Konzeption und Kompilation der Schedelschen Weltchronik*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2015 (Monumenta Germaniae historica. Schriften 71), for the illustrations esp. 398-407.

⁴⁶ "Die cronica van der hilliger stat van Coellen 1499," Ed. Hermann Cardauns, in: *Die Chroniken der niederrheinischen Städte. Cöln*. Vol. 2, Leipzig: Hirzel, 1876, 209-640; Cöln. Vol. 3, Ibid. 1877 (Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis in's 16. Jahrhundert 13, 14); Online: <http://diglib.hab.de/wdb.php?dir=in-kunabeln/131-2-hist-2f>; see Danielle Buschinger, "Die 'Cronica van der hilliger Stat van Coellen' oder 'Koelhoffische Chronik'," in: *Strukturen und Funktionen in Gegenwart und Geschichte. Festschrift für Franz Simmler zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. Claudia Wich-Reif, Berlin: Weidler 2007, 465-486.

⁴⁷ On these, see, e.g. György Rózsa, "A Thuróczy-krónika illusztrációinak forrása és a középkori magyar királyok ikonográfiája" [Sources of the illustration of the Thuróczy Chronicle and the iconography of medieval Hungarian kings], in: idem, *Grafikatörténeti tanulmányok. Fejezetek a magyar vonatkozású grafikai ábrázolások múltjából*, Budapest: Akadémiai, 1998 (Művészettörténeti füzetek 25) 7-24 (German résumé 151 sqq.). Facsimile of the Augsburg edition: <http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1inc1143.htm> (last accessed 21.12.2016)

As a **national history**, the IC belongs into another, not less wide historiographical context.⁴⁸ In post-migration-period Europe ethnic-oriented chronicles were drawn up for the Franks (Gregory of Tours, the so-called Fredegar, the *Liber historiae Francorum*), the Goths in Spain (Isidore of Seville) and the Anglo-Saxons (the Venerable Bede) that later became starting points for national chronicles. In the decades around the millennium the ethnic-oriented conceptions were further developed and transformed by an emphasis on successful dynasties. The earliest example is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from the last years of the ninth century, continued in several redactions into the beginning of the Norman period. In the Ottonian Empire, Widukind of Corvey wrote a history of the Saxons (967/73). Nearly at the same time, during the reign of Ethelred II, in Wessex, Æthelweard wrote an English history from the creation of the world to the death of king Edgar (975). In post-Carolingian France, various histories of the Franks-French were composed in Reims (Richer of St Rémi), Fleury (Aimoin of Fleury) and Sens (*Historia Francorum Senonensis*) but also in Aquitaine (Ademar of Chabannes). In the second decade of the eleventh century, the Norman dukes commissioned Dudo of Saint-Quentin to write a Norman history that can be regarded as beginning of a national historiography even if later political developments interrupted this tradition.

In the early twelfth century, this historiographical genre appeared in both Western and Eastern Europe. In England, the chronicle of Worcester continued the Anglo-Saxon historiographical tradition, while the “discovery” of the early history of the Britons by Geoffrey of Monmouth with the *Historia regum Britanniae*

⁴⁸ On the following, see: Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der nationes-Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1995 (Münstersche Historische Forschungen 8); Idem, “High and Late Medieval National Historiography,” in: *Historiography in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, Leiden-Boston 2003, 181-215. Since the references to the standard editions of and commentaries on the chronicles discussed below are given in these publications—and many handbooks—they will, for the sake of economy, not be repeated here.

(1136) meant an overthrow of the English conception of history. Chronicles such as the Anglo-Norman by Geffrey Gaimar (*Estoire des Engleis*, 1140) or the Latin by Alfred of Beverley (*Annales, sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniae*, 1143) decisively widened the horizon of English history. Most influential were the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury (1124/25) and the *Historia Anglorum* by Henry of Huntingdon (1131/54). In France, important comprehensive historical works came into being in Saint-Denis and in Fleury (Hugh of Fleury). In Bohemia, the *Cronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague (1119/25) became for centuries the authoritative *grand narrative*, and in Poland, a foreigner, the so-called Gallus Anonymus, wrote the oldest dynastically oriented chronicle (1113/17). In Hungary, probably during the reign of Coloman (1095-1116) or somewhat earlier, the first version of a courtly chronicle, the so-called *Ur-Gesta* was composed, and in Kievan Rus', the first redaction of the Primary chronicle, (*Povest' vremennykh let*), the so-called Nestor Chronicle.

A second high medieval stage in the extension of these national historiographic texts can be dated to the century between 1180 and 1280. In some countries, which up to then lacked a similar historiographical tradition suitable works were written. Around 1180, in Norway, the monk Theoderic wrote a *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* and a generation later, around 1230, the Icelander Snorri Sturluson composed the *Heimskringla*, a history of the Norwegian kings. In Denmark, Sven Aggeson wrote in the 1180s a *Brevis historia regum Dacie* and some time later Saxo, a cleric at the court of the archbishop of Lund, composed the monumental *Gesta Danorum*, paying much attention to the oldest legendary history of the North. From the end of the twelfth century originates the chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea (Pop Dukljanin), the *Libellus Gothorum* oder *Sclavorum regnum*, regarded as a first draft of a Serbian history. Around 1266, Thomas of Split wrote the Croatian *Historia Salonitana*.

In other countries, we notice an expansion of the existing historiographical tradition. For French historical writing the *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum* by Andreas of

Marchiennes from the last decade of the twelfth century marked a new approach to French history and from the same time dates the important Polish history by Wincenty Kadlubek (*Chronica Polonorum*), presenting an ethnic-oriented concept of Polish history. In Castile, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo, wrote a *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, while shortly afterwards, around 1270, the first redaction of the *Estoria de Espanna* was composed. In Hungary, around 1282/85, Simon of Kéza wrote a *Gesta Hungarorum*, in which he added a "history" of the Huns, whom he regarded as the early Hungarians, elaborating on the genealogical hint at Attila, invented by the Hungarian Anonymus (c. 1210).

The national historical genre was further extended during the fourteenth century. This concept was for the first time realized in Scotland: in the *Chronica gentis Scotorum* (1363/85) John Fordun described the Scots as descendants of the Greek prince Gaythelos and the Pharaoh's daughter Scota. In the other European countries there was an extension and intensification of the existing texts and concepts.

Typical for this stage are the tendencies to arrange national chronicles in a representative way on the one hand, and to orient the texts toward a broader public, on the other. As mentioned above, early examples for the tendency towards representative codices are the IC containing re-edited narratives from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, and the redaction of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* for Charles V.

England experienced an exceptional growth in the culture of history with the chronicles of the Brut tradition and the impressive output of Ranulf Higden. The Brut circle attempted to offer a general overview of English history, beginning with the eponymous hero, Brutus. In various versions, always in the vernacular, first in Anglo-Norman, then soon in Middle English as well. There are some 230 witnesses for this group.⁴⁹ The above mentioned *Polychronicon* of Ranulf Higden from the later fourteenth century presented English history in a universal context and achieved a

⁴⁹ See Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung* (as n. 47) 264-280.

unique literary success with 130 surviving manuscripts, a few continuations, and two vernacular translations.⁵⁰

Common in these texts—in England, France, and Hungary—is an attempt at the popularization of the national history and a systematic appeal to circles beyond the old monastic-clerical audience. This trend defines the historical background of the IC and its sisters from the fourteenth century as well.

The national histories experienced a further wave of innovation in the period from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. Humanist notions of history writing became influential, existing concepts and narratives challenged, and the writings became “internationalized” insofar as they now tended to include foreign national histories as well. Of great importance was then the invention of printing that from the 1470s opened new ways of national historical representation. Printed histories, frequently based on the texts of the fourteenth century, were presented in a more elaborate way and addressed an ever wider audience.

⁵⁰ See n. 14, above.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS IN TEXT AND ANNOTATIONS

***	omission
[]	addition
()	abbreviated letters
+ +	corruption
< >	missing letters
b.	born
Bp.	Budapest (as place of publication)
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cf.	<i>confronte</i> , compare
<i>corr.</i>	corrections in MS
CUP	Cambridge University Press
d.	died
Dec. in.	decorated initial
ed(s),	editor(s), edited by

<i>et al.</i>	<i>et alii</i> , and others
Hist. in.	historiated initial
Inh.in.	inhabited initial
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hung. Acad. of Sc.)
<i>om.</i>	omitted
OUP	Oxford University Press
p., pp.	page(s)
trans.	translator, translated by
vol(s).	volume(s)

TITLES CITED IN ABBREVIATION

Anon.	Anonymi Bele Regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians, ed. and trans. Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, in: <i>Anonymus and Master Roger</i> , Bp.–New York: CEU Press, 2010 [=CEMT 5]
Berend in Head	“Hartvic, Life of King Stephen of Hungary,” trans. Nora Berend, in: <i>Medieval Hagiography. An Anthology</i> , Thomas Head, ed. New York–London, 2000.
CEMT	Central European Medieval Texts, Bp.–New York: Central European University Press, 1999–
Cosmas, <i>Chron.</i>	<i>Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag</i> , Bertold Bretholz, ed., (2d ed. Munich: MGH, 1980) MGH SS NS 2.

- DAI Constantine Porphyrogenitus. *De Administrando Imperio*. Gyula Moravcsik and Romilly J. H. Jenkins, eds. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967.
- DHA *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima: accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*, György Györffy, ed. (Bp.: Akadémiai K., 1992)
- DRMH *Decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the medieval kingdom of Hungary*, J. M. Bak *et al.*, eds. & trans. 5 vols. Different locations: Schlacks *et al.*, 1989–2012.
- GpP *Gesta principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the princes of the Poles*, Paul Knoll and Frank Schaer, ed. and trans. With a preface by Tom Bisson, Bp.–New York: Central European University Press, 2003 (CEMT 3)
- IC The Illuminated Chronicle, OSZK Budapest, Cod. Lat. 404
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica
- AA Autores Antiquissimi
- Necr. Necrologia Germaniae
- SS Scriptores
- SSrG Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
- RHC HOC *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95

- RA Imre Szentpétery, István Borsa, *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadiane critico-diplomatica*, Bp.: MTA, 1923–61.
- SK Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum. The deeds of the Hungarians*. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer, ed. & trans. With a study by Jenő Szűcs, Bp.-New York: Central European University Press, 1999 (=CEMT 1)
- SRH *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, Emericus [Imre] Szentpétery, ed., Bp.: Regia Universitas, 1938, 2 vols. (Repr. Bp.: Nap, 1999)
- Studies* *Studies to the Illuminated Chronicle*, János M. Bak, László Veszprémy, eds. (Bp: CEU Press, 2018) (=CEMT Subsidia 1)

Classical and Biblical (Douai-Rheims Vulgate) references follow the general custom.

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Map of Árpáadian Hungary	front endpaper
Selected genealogy of the rulers of Hungary (to 1342)	431

ANNOTATED LIST OF MINIATURES AND MEDAILLONS^{*}

1 (*Title page, top*)

Center: king (Louis) in majesty: seated on throne bench under Italianate edifice, wearing ermine-lined mantle and tunic decorated with the barry of eight gule et argent (Árpád dynasty), crowned, holding orb and scepter. Left, six warriors in Western style coat armor and helmet, the first two with sword and gesture of allocution. Right: five persons in Oriental dress, mace, bow or sabre, the first with gesture of speech. (On this, see *Studies*, pp. 33–4)

viii

^{*} Compiled mainly on the basis of Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, „A képek, díszítések leírása és magyarázata” [Description and explanation of the images and decorations], in *Képes Krónika*, Dezső Derscsényi, Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, Gyula Kristó, eds. (Bp.: Corvina 1987) pp. 129–43 and Tünde Wehli, “The Illuminated Chronicle from the Point of View of Illumination” in László Veszprémi –Tünde Wehli, *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle*, Bp.: Kossuth-OSZK, 2009, 37-193.

- 2 *Prima origo dilationis Hungarorum in oriente Scythie*
 Elegant hunting scene with two groups of hunters, carefully drawn greyhounds up front, and bear-hunters in the center in forested landscape. The Huns/Hungarians, as usual, dressed as 14th. c. knights. (Due to the flaking off of paint the under drawing is visible) 14

- 3 *Primus ingressus Hungarorum in Pannoniam*
 Several groups traveling by foot or mounted (some on camels) moving in from the right in front of mountainous background with castles on top of the hills (typical for Italian painting, e.g., Simone Martini). The variously dressed groups suggest a mixed population led by a chief on white horse and princely headgear (Attila?) (Faults in the cover-paint show elegant pen underdrawings.) 22

- 4 *De eleccione Atyle Regis Hungarorum et de victoria eiusdem monarchiali*
 The miniature depicts not the king's election but a battle scene with several confrontations in a complex spatial arrangement (following the partly visible underdrawings). On the left, a leader with exotic headgear (Attila) shooting an arrow, his attendant displaying the Hungarian (!) coat of arms with the barry of eight. A golden flag, flying beyond the frame displays a hunting bird in profile (recurrent sign for Huns and early Magyars). 30

- 5 *Rex Atyla expugnat civitatem Aquilegiam*
 Mounted attack of Western type knights (!), one of them sporting a shield with lion rampant, led by a leader on a white horse (Attila). Flag bearer holds high-flying flag with the hunting bird. The settlement, represented in a dual axonometric formula with a castle (left) and a walled city (right) with typical Trecento housing towers, is defended by a few men in similar attire. 42

6 *Incipit prologus de secundo ingressu et de casibus
prosperis et adversis eorundem*

Variation of # 3. Three scenes combined: Mounted men, led by the seven captains wearing busbies, women walking with children and shepherds in the background moving in from the right; prince (Árpád) tasting the water of the Danube in the middle; his companions' open mouths refer to the triple acclamation to God. On the left, enthroned prince (Duke Svatopluk) is being presented with the white horse and golden saddle for which the Hungarians "bought" the country. 60

7 *Introitus diversarum nationum*

Five different groups riding or walking in front of mountainous landscape with castles on the top (as on # 2 and # 6). From the right (West), armored knights, from left (East) people in varied attire, reflecting the list of people in ch. 53. 94

8 *Greci devincuntur per Hungaros*

Mounted soldiers observe combat in the center where the Hungarian (Botond) is stabbing the fallen Greek. In the background, a couple (emperor and empress) turn away from the scene ashamed, leaving the rampart of the town (Constantinople). 108

9 *Sanctus Stephanus primus rex Hungarorum nascitur*

Two interiors; in the left corridor, a group, some crowned, waiting; in the taller right hall, duchess (Sarolt) in bed with haloed baby in her hand and attendants, being addressed by haloed men (St Stephen the Protomartyr) [based on the *Vita S Stephani regis*, the vision not being mentioned in the Chronicle] who hands a crown to the mother. The composition resembles Italian *desco di parto* narratives 108

- 10 *Pugna sancti regis Stephani contra Cupan ducem*
Mounted person wearing crown over helmet (Stephen) observes kneeling person (Cupan/Koppány) being beheaded, other warriors standing by 110
- 11 *Sanctus rex Stephanus pugnat cum Gyula duce Transilvano*
Two scenes: left a battle, right mounted king (Stephen) – crowned, with Lothringian cross on his tunic -- and entourage (right) observe as a person in princely hat (Gyula) is being handcuffed by a warrior; mounted warriors leave the picture to the left 114
- 12 *Tertium bellum sancti regis Stephani contra Kean ducem*
In the center, king (Stephen), crowned, with Lothringian cross (argent en gule) on his tunic, sword in hand, steps on defeated person in Oriental hat (Kean) (a pose typical for Archangel Michael and Satan or St George and the dragon). The king's white horse is lead by a knave with shield displaying the same cross (worn also by a knight), emphasizing Western, Christian victory over paganism. Left: helmeted warriors point lances at a group wearing Oriental hats, retreating behind mountains 116
- 13 *De edificatione templi per sanctum Stephanum regem in Veteri Buda pro canonicis*
Kneeling king (Stephan) and queen (Gisela) hold up a two-towered church in a typical form of dedication images 120
- 14 *De morte sanctissimi Emerici ducis et de orbatione oculorum Vazul*
Top: two riders (royal messengers) enter from left; center:: two warriors are blinding a bound person in princely hat (Vazul); bottom: young haloed person in princely headgear with orb and scepter (Emeric) is being laid into coffin, face open, the king (Stephen) with the gesture of mourning, and the queen (Gisela), both crowned, attending 124

15 *De fuga Petri et de electione Abe*

In a typical “open composition,” mounted warriors, one with drawn sword, another (in fur hat) with strung bow ride from left to right (the head and foot of one horse is strangely cut off)

134

16 *Adventus cesaris in Hungariam contra Abam*

Battle scene (Ménfő, 1044) illustrating verbatim the text. In the center, two crowned rulers (Aba, on white horse, and Henry) in combat, behind them two armies: the imperial flag flying high, the “Hungarian” with the barry of eight, broken on the ground (dropped by Aba’s men). Left corner: warrior stabs person in tunic (Aba); his crown on the ground. Right corner: crowned figure in penitential garb, barefoot (Henry) kneels before altar with cross (which may refer to the cross-relic of Aba’s or the *Reichskreuz*), its antependium displaying the colors of Lower Austria.
(Two medaillons at bottom of ms p. 81, no rubric)

138

17a *Willermus Latinus... nuncium misit ad ducem et litteras, ut sibi de rege caveret.*

The illumination implies – in contrast to the text – that the abbot (William) personally went to Duke Géza. On the right, a monk (Abbot William) changes into secular dress; on the left, he warns a duke in bed (Géza) – behind the bed, two of the three treacherous counselors

216

17b *Traditores autem fugientes levabant clipeos suos...*

Duke on horseback (Géza) fleeing to the left; on the right, knights holding up their shields – the sign of their treason – not noticed by pursuing knights who are stabbing them (following verbatim the text above)

216

18 (Medaillon on ms p. 84, no rubric)

... ecce angelus Domini descendit de celo portans coronam auream.

The vision of Ladislás: two horsemen; (Ladislás), right, turning his eye upward, and another (Géza), left, having a crown placed on his head by an angel from above....

222

- 19 (Medaillon on ms p. 85, no rubric)
Ladizlaus autem ... ipse primus omnium irruit super agmina regis
 Battle scene (Mogyoród, 1074). Haloed knight on white horse (Ladislav) striking with lance a knight (Solomon) on the right; fallen soldiers under the feet of the horses. The dukes' army flies a flag with Lothringian cross on triple mound, the king's the one with a barry of eight, maybe hinting at the conflict between legitimacy and suitability 226
- 20 *Sanctus Ladizlaus coronatur in regem*
 Two bishops place a crown, also held by two angels, on the head of a king (Ladislav) bearing mantle, sword and orb; clerical attendants to the right, seculars on the left, reflecting the royal insignia and the two kinds of royal counsellors (*prelati et barones*) (see Title page) 242
- 21 *Rex vadit contra Rutenos*
 The miniature depicts the result of the campaign: crowned and haloed king (Ladislav) on a throne bench, surrounded by knights, receives the submission of fur-hatted "Ruthenes," kneeling; the first in proskynesis, his ducal hat on the ground. (A composition probably inspired by Adoration of Magi iconography.) 256
- 22 *De constructione Waradiensis ecclesie et de morte regis Ladizlai*
 The crowned and haloed king (Ladislav) gestures speech, instructing the workers on the construction of the basilica at Oradea; behind him a clerical and a secular attendant. One workman mixes cement, used by another to raise a wall, realistically depicting scaffolding technique; in the background machine lifting a stone 258

- 23 *Sanctus rex Ladizlaus moritur et Colomanus filius
Geyse regis in regem legitime coronatur*

The miniature depicts the miracle recorded in the *Vita S Ladislasi regis*, but not mentioned in the chronicle, according to which the cart carrying the holy king's coffin (here in red tunic, haloed with orb and scepter and open face – as in #14 – for veiled face burial was opposed in Angevin times) moved by itself to Oradea (see n. 693). The cathedral of Oradea is falsely represented with four towers; it is known to have had two

264

- 24 *De constructione ecclesie Demes*

In front of a two-towered church, a hunchback – hinting at his evilness -- crowned king (Coloman) shakes hand with prince (Álmos), who had founded the monastery; a priest laying hands on their hands, blessing the accord; attendants in the background

274

- 25 *Dux Almus et filius eius exoculantur*

Three scenes. Left: hunchback, crowned king (Coloman) with gesture of address orders two warriors, likewise with gesture of address; upper right: a warrior is blinding a recumbent duke (Álmos) (cf. # 14!); lower right, a warrior cutting up a hare (to remove its testicles), next to naked boy in ducal hat (Béla)

.276

- 26 *Hic Bela cecus filius Almi ducis in regem legitime coronatur*

The miniature depicts not the coronation, but the events at the meeting in Arad. Blind, crowned king with scepter (Béla) and his queen (Helena) on throne bench; the queen's gesture implies orders followed by knight with raised sword who has beheaded two handcuffed kneeling men (heads on the ground) and is about to continue with three others

296

- 27 *Hic Geysa coronatur in regem*
King with scepter on throne bench is being crowned by two bishops (faces erased) while a young prince (the later Ladislas II?) hands him a sword and a white horse 304
- 28 *Cesar Corradus per Hungariam vadit Ierosolimam*
In the front, two crowned persons, one on a white horse with eight-pronged crown (Emperor Conrad) with raised shield (imperial eagle), one with lesser crown, followed by four knights, being attacked from right by a troop of five, the first of whom is about to shoot an arrow. In the background, fortified, two-towered church on top of hill 310
- 29 *Stephanus usurpat sibi coronam*
In the forefront, a person in "ducal" cap (Stephen III) on throne bench, a person in tunic seeming to whisper something into his ear (there is no reference to this in the text), next to him two bishops, one holding a crown. In the background, a person on a white horse (Stephen IV?), holding a crown, riding towards the right. (Miniatures and initials are rather unclear in this terse section of the chronicle) 316
- 30 *Emericus coronatur*
King (Emeric) with scepter and orb being crowned by two bishops standing on either side 318
- 31 *Ladizlaus secundus coronatur*
Youthful (but not infant as in reality) person (Ladislas III), crowned by a bishop, a secular person and another bishop standing by 318
- 32 *Andreas pater sancte Elyzabeth coronatur in regem*
King with scepter on throne bench (Andrew II) crowned by a bishop, another bishop, a woman with crown (or halo? St Elisabeth? Queen Gertrudis?) and two secular persons attending 320

33 *Adventus primus Tartarorum*

Small miniature; typical open composition: Six riders in Oriental attire (Mongols) pursue a crowned king (Béla IV) riding a white horse, looking back, and escaping to the right 324

34 *Pugnat rex cum Othocario*

The miniature in fact depicts a previous battle (1246) in which the Hungarians killed Margrave Frederick of Babenberg. Six knights, one with spear, in pursuit of two others looking back, while in the center crowned knight (Béla IV!?) cuts off the head of crowned prince (Frederick) 326

35 *Flagellat se populus*

Four persons, two dressed, two half naked, flagellate themselves in front of hilly background with four churches (probably hinting at contrast with orthodox religiosity) 328

36 *Secunda vice intrant Tartari*

Small miniature. In the center, Oriental dressed figure (Mongol) shoots arrow at helmeted warrior with shield and drawn sword. Behind them, left: three Oriental men, unarmed, “wondering,” and two women turning away; right: two helmeted warriors embraced by a woman 332

37 *Pugna regis Karoli prope Cassam cum suis contra Matheum et filios Omodei*

Crowded battle scene (Rozhanovce/Rozgony, 1312). The two principals, both with closed helmet – King Charles recognizable by the Anjou crest of ostrich biting horse-shoe – are as in single combat surrounded by their armies; many dead on the ground, including the royal standard-bearer with broken flag (Lothringian cross on triple mount). From the background, behind mountain and castle, knights advance bearing a banner combining the Árpáadian barry of eight and the (Angevin) fleurs-de-lis. 356

- 38 *Rex Karolus ducit in uxorem dominam Elyzabeth*
 The queen (Elisabeth Piast) crowned, in ermine lined mantle, is accompanied by two men and received by the king (Charles), who hands her a crown. (The only reference to the coronation of a queen in the chronicle.) Two heralds announce the event blowing French horns with Árpád-Anjou pendants 360
- 39 *Fundatio claustris Lypuensis*
 Queen (Elisabeth) and king (Charles) hold up a one-towered church (cf. above # 12) 362
- 40 *Lodovicus nascitur*
 Crowned queen (Elisabeth) in bed, stretching arms toward crowned child (Louis) held by mantled lady stretching arms to mother who is accompanied by two crowned females (??) (With the near-by initial with St Louis of Toulouse, parallel to # 9) 362
- 41 *Rex vadit cum exercitu contra Bazarad*
 The open composition depicts the disaster in a defile in the Carpathian Mountains. From the top, warriors in peculiar fur hat (Vlachs/Romanians) are throwing stones and shooting arrows on the knights crowded into the defile, many fallen, among them one with the Anjou crest (ostrich biting horseshoe) on his helmet (Desiderius, who took the king's place). In the foreground a crowned king (Charles) on white horse and two riders escape to the right 370
- 42 *(no rubric)*
 The same scene as # 41, open composition with different emphasis and with minor differences (e.g. stone-throwers added, Desiderius' crest omitted); see *Studies*, pp. 52–3. 376

EDITOR-TRANSLATORS' PREFACE

The present edition and translation contains the most extensive text of medieval Hungarian chronicle tradition as compiled for the fourteenth-century Illuminated Chronicle [henceforth IC] comprising narratives of several centuries, expanded and restructured by previous authors and the anonymous author/compiler of the chronicle.

For **title** we chose the words of the prologue, where the author calls his work *chronica de gestis Hungarorum*, “chronicle of the deeds of the Hungarians.” The earlier critical edition referred to it, correctly, as *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi xiv*¹ [Fourteenth century redaction of Hungarian chronicles]. There are a few similar texts of chronicle compositions (one of them printed in parallel columns in the edition of the SRH), but we decided for the most complete one prepared for the most representative codex. (Since the text ends in mid-sentence, we added in the Appendix a few chapters for the sake of completion from another version.) **The codex**, written and illuminated after 1358 (but no later than 1370) had an adventurous history, known but in fragments, before it ended up in the Vienna Imperial Library (hence often referred to as the “Vienna Illuminated Codex”) by the early seventeenth century at the latest, whence it came to Budapest in 1934 and is since in the National Széchényi Library, now with the shelf mark Cod. Lat 404. For a detailed description, the history of the codex, and the manuscript and textual traditions, see the articles in the parallel volume of *Studies*.

Considering that the problems of date, author, illumination, reception, and so on are discussed there in detail, we restrict our-

¹ “Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.” Praefatus est, textum recensuit, annotationibus instruxit Alexander Domanovszky, in: SRH 1: pp. 217–505.

selves to outlining the principles of the present edition for the orientation of the reader.

The Latin text follows essentially a new transcription prepared by Ibolya Bellus from the original and collated by us with the manuscript (in facsimile). For the assistance in the careful scrutiny of the manuscript and its collation, we are most grateful to Bernadett Benei. We add annotations in the case of obvious scribal errors (which are, alas, numerous) and offer emendations based on other more or less contemporary chronicles or texts that were clearly the models of the IC, but—as usual in the CEMT series—do not attempt a full critical edition. For abbreviations see above p. xxv. The scribe used capitals for *Beatus*, *Sanctus* if referring to a holy person or matter. Other adjectives have capitals only for Christian names of persons or when referring to the divine (*Magnus*, *Altissimus*). Among nouns *Deus*, *Dominus*, *Spiritus*, *Virgo* are capitalised, then names of holidays (e.g., *Ascensio*) and of religious orders (e.g., *Fratres Minores*). The punctuation follows the original. The spelling of the manuscript has also been retained especially when certain characteristics are consistent in the entire text and amended only in the usual way of modern editions, e.g. by changing the *v* to *u* according to the lexical form. We also decided to simplify the printing of Roman numerals, dropping the author's hints at their declension, i. e., adding an *o* for indicating ablatives. Direct quotations from Scriptures, Classics or medieval authors are italicised both in the Latin and the English text excepting the extensive borrowings from the Hungarian historical tradition (see below) to which we refer in the notes. In order to facilitate reference to the attached digitalized version, the facsimile editions, and the studies in *Studies*, the page numbers of the manuscript (given it by the Vienna librarian Peter Lambeck some three hundred years ago) are inserted in square brackets in the Latin text. The numbering of the chapters goes back to the SRH edition and we retained it for easy reference to earlier editions.

The translation follows the principles of the CEMT series, attempting to offer a good readable English narrative without departing too far from the original's style and diction. As in previous volumes, the translation of certain institutions and offices of

the medieval kingdom of Hungary into English posed a problem. Clearly, these terms—and their, often arbitrarily chosen Latin equivalents in the written sources—design features of the country that were in many respects different from those of the British Isles, for which English terms exist. The IC does not have too many of these, but the proper translation of terms for the great men of the realm, or the politically and militarily relevant freemen in general is difficult. The different authors of the passages that added up to the chronicle used slightly different words for the men surrounding the king and having some authority and power to decide matters of the realm in war and peace. These differences may well reflect both changes in the social hierarchy and the chancery use for referring to the great men of the realm. And, of course, the different terms used in the various times when the precursors of the IC were written. For example, the IC refers to all non-reigning members of the royal dynasty as *dux*, literally ‘duke,’ regardless, whether they actually held the *ducatus* (part of the kingdom as an appanage) or not; we have occasionally translated it as ‘prince,’ when style and context fitted that word better. Then, we translated the Latin *principes*, *optimates*, *barones*, and *proceres* more or less uniformly as “great men of the realm” however encumbering this may occasionally sound. Other—in some, but not all contexts, apparently lesser—office-holders are termed *comites*. To translate *comes* as “count” (which is often done) would be misleading, as there were no “titled nobility” in Hungary, nor were the persons so named always royal officers of the Carolingian type of counts. Most likely, our authors translated the Hungarian *ispán* by this Latin word. As far as it can be ascertained, the *ispáns* were initially freemen (or servitors) charged with the administration of counties and castles, but men of higher status, members of ancient families were also addressed thus, even if not holding office. Actually, in the later Middle Ages even influential burghers were called *comites*. As in the other volumes of CEMT, we decided to use the vernacular term. Other occasionally occurring institutions, titles or offices, we explain in an appropriate note.

There are no poetic inserts or rhythmic clauses that would have needed special attention; a few word-plays and puns will be noted; we tried to hint at them in the translation. The translation

owes much to the English version, published with the facsimile edition of 1969 by Alick West (who probably worked from the German translation by Ferenc Gotschlig, 1968)² and also utilizes the lessons learned from the recent Hungarian translation.³

Personal names are usually changed to modern versions (if taken from the common Christian calendar, than in their English form) or generally accepted transcriptions if such exist; different versions are noted in the Index of names. **Place names**, as far as they can be identified with modern locations, are given in their present-day form and in the official language of their country, so that they could be found on any good atlas. A *Gazetteer* on pp. 427–429 contains the versions of the toponyms in different languages.

The **annotations** had to be kept in limits, considering the length of the text and that the literature on it is extensive. Since, as mentioned above, the chronicle contains many elements of previous narratives—besides the lost early versions of the “national chronicle”—mainly of the oldest surviving Hungarian history, the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymus (ca. 1200) [Anon.] and the one of Simon of Kéza (1282/5) [SK] with the same title. We refer the reader to the more detailed annotations given in these, both published in the CEMT series in 2010 and 1999, respectively.⁴ The connection of these narratives to each other is a much debated issue and is addressed in the *Studies* by János Bak and Ryszard Grzesik. We feel that to italicize every instance of these (rarely verbatim) borrowings would be awkward, so we do not attempt it. Since those texts are much shorter, we were able to add more detailed notes especially to Simon's *Gesta*, and do not intend to repeat them in this

² *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle. Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*. Ed. Dezső Dercsényi. transl. by Alick West. Bp.: Corvina, 1969.

³ *Képes krónika*. Transl. János Bollók. Bibliography by Kornél Szovák, notes by Kornél Szovák and László Veszprémy. Bp.: Osiris, 2004.

⁴ Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum. The deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed. and transl. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer, with a study by Jenő Szűcs. Bp.-New York: CEU Press, 1999, CEMT 1 [=SK].

Anonymi Bele Regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians, ed. and trans. Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, in: *Anonymus and Master Roger*, Bp.-New York: CEU Press, 2010, CEMT 5 [=Anon.].

book. We refer back to these texts for easy consultation at every instance where relevant. Moreover, an early printed history of Hungary, the *Chronica Hungarorum* by Johannes Thuróczy (1488), incorporating considerable parts of the present chronicle (with some variants and additions) was published not long ago in two volumes with commentaries in Latin.⁵ We recommend that readers interested in particular details consult that publication which contains both Hungarian and foreign literature up to the 1980s.

Considering that the IC was designed at least as much for its illuminations as for its text, we could not forego including a part of those as far as it was technically possible. The interaction between text and image—discussed in detail by Ernő Marosi in *Studies*—is an important element of this codex. Therefore, we print all miniatures in simple black-and-white reproduction for the sake of information (not necessarily reflecting their size in the manuscript) but could not include the more than hundred inhabited, historiated or just decorated initials although many of which contain historically and artistically important images. Those we describe briefly in the notes, and they, as well as the miniatures can be inspected on the high-resolution full-color facsimile, available on the CD attached to this volume. The illuminations are analyzed in detail in terms of style, technique, iconography, etc. in the above mentioned study. In the recently published *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle*⁶ many of the miniatures and initials as well as several illuminated bi-folios are printed in excellent and enlarged full-color reproduction.

Budapest, June 2018

J.M.B.—L. V.

⁵ Iohannes de Thurocz. *Chronica Hungarorum*. Vol. 1. Textus. Ediderunt Elisabeth Galántai et Julius Kristó. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, Series nova VII). Bp.: Akadémiai, 1985. Vol. 2. Commentarii. Composuit Elemér Mályusz adiuvante Julio Kristó. Ibid. 1988.

⁶ László Veszprémi –Tünde Wehli, *The Book of the Illuminated Chronicle*, Bp.: Kossuth-OSZK, 2009.

1. [1] ¹Anno Domini M-o CCC-o quinquagesimo octavo feria tertia infra octavas Ascensionis eiusdem Domini² incepta est ista cronica de gestis Hungarorum antiquis et novissimis, ortu et progressu, victoria eorundem et audacia, collecta ex diversis cronicis veteribus, earundem veritates ascribendo et falsitatem omnino refutando^a. In nomine Domini. Amen.

2. INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN CRONICAM HUNGARORUM

³*Per me reges regnant*, ait dominus Deus per sapientem Salomonem Proverbiorum VIII-o capitulo.⁴ *Gloriosus Deus in sanctis suis in maiestate mirabilis, cuius ineffabilis altitudo prudentie nullis inclusa limitibus, nullis terminis comprehensa, recti censura iudicii celestia pariter disponit et terrena. Et si cunctos eius ministros magnificet, et altis decoret honoribus, et celestis efficiat beatitudinis possessores: illos tamen, ut dignis digna rependat, potioribus attollit insigniis dignitatum, et premiorum uberiori retributione prosequitur, quos digniores agnoscit, et commendat ingentior excellentia meritorum,*⁵ prout apparet luculentissime in extollentia regum illustrium et victoriarum exercitio celebra<ti>ssimarum per reges Hungarorum patratarum.⁶

^a *In margine litteris Arabicis* Turods János krónikája

¹ Inh. in.: Saint with wheel (St. Catherine of Alexandria), below: king (Louis) and queen (Elisabeth) in prayer.

² 15 May 1358.

1. ¹In the year of the Lord 1358 on the Tuesday of the week of the same Lord's Ascension² was begun this chronicle of the deeds of the Hungarians in ancient and most recent times, whence they came and how they fared, their victories and their boldness, compiled from divers old chronicles, preserving what in them is true and utterly refuting what is false. In the name of the Lord. Amen.

2. HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE TO THE CHRONICLE OF THE HUNGARIANS

"³By me kings reign," says the Lord God by the mouth of the wise Solomon in the eighth chapter of the Book of Proverbs.⁴ *God is glorious in His saints, in majesty wonderful; no limits are set to the unspeakable depth of His wisdom, nor is it confined within any bounds; in right judgment it orders all things both in heaven and on earth. And though He magnifies all His servants and clothes them in high honors and makes them enjoy heavenly bliss, yet to bestow worthy reward upon the worthy He exalts to higher dignity and more richly requites those who are more worthy in His sight and whose merits are more distinguished⁵* as is most clearly manifested in His exalting illustrious kings and in the most celebrated victories won

³ Inh.in.: Crowned figure with barely visible halo (Christ? King Solomon?).

⁴ Here and twice below: Prov 8: 15.

⁵ Sexti Decr. III. Tit. XXII, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 2: 1059, Aemilius Friedberg, ed., (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959).

Qui divino freti auctoritatis presidio, gladiatorum aciebus validissime profugatis castra subvertentes regum et imperatorum [2] *fortes facti sunt in bello*,⁷ nullo eisdem potente resistere in pugnando. Quod bene ostenditur in verbo divino oraculo exarato: *Per me*, inquit Deus, et non virtute propria *reges regnant* et regnabunt Hungarorum. Ubi primo divina exprimitur auctoritas, virtutem insuperabilem allat<ura>^a, *per me*, inquit, qui sum virtutis infinite, cunctos valens adiuvare presidentes. *Quia ego occidam et ego vivere faciam, percutiam et sanabo, et non est, qui de manu mea possit eruere*,⁸ *suscitans de pulvere egenum, ut sedeat cum principibus et solium regale teneat*.⁹ Ideo subditur: *Reges regnant*, qui habent iustitiae equitatem, sapientiae claritatem, patientiae tranquillitatem et misericordiae pietatem, attestante sacro eloquio Proverbiorum XX-o: *Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem et roboratur clementia tro-nus eius*.¹⁰ Et iterum in alio loco dicit Scriptura: *Rex sapiens sedens in solio intuitu suo dissipat omne malum*.¹¹ Et rursus Salomon ait Sapientiae VI-o: *Rex sapiens et misericors stabilimentum populi est, et dissipat impios*,¹² subiectos populos a tyrannis eripiendo. Quod bene impletur in regibus Hungariae, qui cunctos tyrannos debellando populos Hungariae in *pulchritudine pacis et in requie opulenta*¹³ sedere procurarunt, propter hoc, quia pre cunctis regibus timue-

^a allat<ura>] allativa Ms

⁶ On victory in battle as proof of divine assistance, see, e.g., David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215*, pp. 64–107. (Woodbridge, UK, and Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell and Brewer, 2003). It is noteworthy that historical tradition in Hungary (as in Anon. and SK passim) attributed divine support for the victories of pagan Magyars as well. On this, see László Veszprémy, “‘More paganism.’ Reflections on pagan and Christian past in the Gesta Hungarorum of the Hungarian Anonymous Notary,” in: *Historical Narratives and Christian Identity on a European Periphery &c.*, Ildar H. Garipzanov, ed., pp. 183–201 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

⁷ Hebr 11: 34.

⁸ Deut 32: 39.

⁹ 1 Sam 2: 8.

by the kings of the Hungarians.⁶ They, relying on the protection of divine authority, most valiantly destroying the castles by the edge of their swords and having put to flight kings and emperors *became strong in war*,⁷ so that no man could withstand them in battle. This is fully confirmed in the divine and prophetic word: *By me*, says God, not by their own strength, do *kings reign*. And thus shall reign the kings of the Hungarians. And herein is especially affirmed that power of divine authority to confer invincible strength. *By me*, He says who am infinite in strength, mighty to help all those in seats of power. For *I will kill and I will make to live, I will strike and will heal: and there is none who can deliver out of my hand*,⁸ for *He raises up the needy from the dust, and lifts up the poor from the dunghill: that he may sit with princes*.⁹ Therefore is it added *kings reign* that have equity of justice, light of wisdom, the tranquility of patience and pious compassion, as the twentieth chapter of Proverbs declares with holy eloquence. *Mercy and truth preserve the king: and his throne is strengthened by clemency*.¹⁰ And again elsewhere the Scripture says: *The wise king that sits on the throne of judgment scatters away all evil with his look*.¹¹ And again Solomon says in the sixth chapter of the Book of Wisdom: *A wise and compassionate king is the stay of the people, and scatters the wicked*,¹² delivering subject peoples from tyrants. That is well fulfilled in the kings of Hungary, who by subduing all tyrants enabled the peoples of Hungary to dwell in the *loveliness of peace and in quiet abundance*,¹³ for they feared God the Lord more than any king. Whence it is written in the seventeenth chapter of the Book

¹⁰ Prov 20: 28.

¹¹ Ibid. 20: 8.

¹² Eccles 49: 17 and Prov 20: 26.

¹³ Isa 32: 18. Cf. *Acta legationis Cardinalis Gentilis. 1307–1311*, Antal Pór, ed. p. 284, (Budapest.: Franklin, 1885. Monumenta Vaticana Historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia I/2; repr. Ibid.: Magyar Egyháztört. Enciklopédia, 2000).

runt dominum Deum. Unde scribitur Deuteronomii XVII-o capitulo loquens Deus de regibus ait: Rex constitutus *postquam sederit in solio regni sui, describeret sibi legem Dei et habebit secum legetque illam omnibus diebus vite sue, ut discat timere dominum Deum suum et custodire verba eius, que in lege precepta sunt, ut longo tempore regnet ipse et filii eius super*¹⁴ terram et gloriam meam possideat in eternum. Quorum regum, scilicet Hungarorum, originem, principium et egressum de Scytia diversis sanctorum doctorum ystoriis hoc ordine declarabo.

3. DE PRIM<A>^a ORIGINE HUNGARORUM SECUNDUM SACRAM SCRIPTURAM

¹⁵Sicut scribit magister ystoriarum¹⁶ Genesis decimo capitulo: Iste sunt generationes filiorum Noe,¹⁷ et de istis tribus filiis eius, scilicet *Sem, Cam et Iaphet exorte sunt post diluvium septuagintadue generationes, de Iaphet [3] XV, de Cam XXX, de Sem vero XXVII. Isti disseminati sunt in tribus partibus orbis: Sem Asyam, Cam Africam, Iaphet Europam sortitus est. Nam secundum Iosephum*¹⁸ filii Iaphet possederunt septemtrionalem regionem a Tauro et Amano montibus Sycilie^b et Syrie usque ad fluvium Tanay,¹⁹ qui est in Scytia. Et hoc idem asserit Beatus Ieronimus in libro *De Ebraicis questionibus*,²⁰ quod filii Iaphet possederunt in Asya <ab> Amano

^a prim<a>] primo *Ms*

^b Sycilie/ recte Cilicie

¹⁴ Deut 17: 18–20 with minor changes.

¹⁵ Inh. in.: Seated, cowed figure writing (author? ‘master of history’?).

¹⁶ In all likelihood, Petrus Comestor, whose *Historia scholastica* our author used extensively (see below 7, n. 18 and p. 12, n. 37), frequently called Magister Historiarum (see, e.g. MPL 198: 1051A), is meant. For an extensive discussion, especially in connection with the inhabited initial above, see *Studies*, p. 37.

¹⁷ Gen 10: 1. From here to the middle of chapter 4, the chronicle follows verbatim Nicolaus de Lyra, *Postilla super totam Bibliam* (Strasbourg 1492, Reprint Frank-

of Deuteronomy: Speaking about kings, God says: The king, when he is established and *sits upon the throne of his kingdom, he shall write out for himself a copy of this law: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all His words written in this law that he and his sons may reign long over*¹⁴ the land and he shall partake of my glory for ever. Of these kings, to wit those of the Hungarians, I will relate in this order: their origin and their beginnings and their departure from the land of Scythia, as is set forth in the histories of the holy fathers.

3. THE FIRST ORIGIN OF THE HUNGARIANS ACCORDING TO HOLY SCRIPTURE

¹⁵As the Master of Histories¹⁶ writes (tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis): *These are the generations of the sons of Noah,*¹⁷ *and from his three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, there sprang after the flood seventy-two generations: from Japheth fifteen, from Ham thirty, and from Shem twenty-seven. They were spread abroad in the three parts of the earth, and Asia fell to the lot of Shem, Africa to Ham, and Europe to Japheth. For according to Josephus,*¹⁸ *the sons of Japheth possessed the regions north of the Taurus and Amanus mountains of Cilicia and Syria as far as the river Tanais,*¹⁹ *which is in Scythia. And the blessed Jerome in his book* *Questiones Hebraicae*²⁰ *asserts the same, that the sons of Japheth had possessions in Asia from the mountains of Amanus and Taurus to the river Tanais*

furt/Main: Minerva, 1971), vol. 1. fol 47r; on who see Philip D.W. Krey and Lesley Smith, eds, *Nicholas of Lyra: The Senses of Scripture* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹⁸ The author quotes Josephus Flavius (*Antiquitates Iudaicae*) via the *Historia scholastica* (MPL 198: cols. 1049–1722A, here: 1087–8), which is his authority for much of the following.

¹⁹ The river Don.

²⁰ See *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera. pars 1. Opera exegetica. Hebraicae quaestiones in libro geneseos*. Paul de Lagarde et al. eds., p. 11 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959).

et Tauro montibus usque ad fluvium Tanay, in Europa vero usque ad Gadyra,²¹ nomina locis et gentibus relinquentes, ex quibus postea mutata sunt plurima. Cetera permanent in se vel in aliquo simili vel propinquo. Filii Iaphet: Gomer, a quo nominati sunt Galathea et postea Gallici,²² qui sunt Francigene a quodam Francione dicti, filio Paridis, filii Priamidis, primi regis Troye.²³ Qui venientes de Troya post eius excidium in Pannonia, que olym tempore Alexandri Magni superior Grecia²⁴ nuncupabatur sub monte Sycaan circa fluvium Hystrum,²⁵ qui Alamanice Dun nominatur, civitatem fortissimam construxerunt et ei nomen Syccambriam a monte Syccan²⁶ inposuerunt, et ibidem quadringentis annis ante incarnationem Christi permanserunt, et tandem orientales timentes nationes, se ad partes occidentales transtulerunt, et regionem circa fluvium Sakan²⁷ occupaverunt, cui nomine Franciam a Francione duce eorum dictam indiderunt, et civitatem principalem Paris nomine patris eiusdem Francionis appellarunt.²⁸ Secundus filius Iaphet: Magog, a quo descenderunt Scyte secundum Ieronimum, et Maday, a quo dicti

²¹ Cádiz in Spain.

²² Gen 10: 2; Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2.26.

²³ The insertion of the story about the Trojan origin of the Franks is the chronicler's addition to Nicholas of Lyra. The oldest known record of the myth is in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, ca. 727 AD (ed. B. Krusch, MGH SSrerMer 2:1, pp. 242–3), but our author might have known it rather from Ioannes Parisiensis (John of St Victor) *Memoriale historiarum*, pp. 535–9 (ed. Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, Bibliotheca victorina, 12, Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), who quotes Vincent of Bauvais's *Speculum historiale*. Priam was, of course, not the first, but the last king of Troy. Francio as first duke of the Franks is from Fredegar (*Chronicarum... libri*, MGH SSrerMer, 2:5 and 2:32, pp. 46 and 133). See Hans-Werner Goetz, "Gens, kings, and kingdoms," in: *Regna and gentes: the Relationship Between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms &c.* Idem & al. eds., pp. 307–44 (Leiden: Brill, 2003). More generally on the Trojan origin in *origines gentium*, see Michael Borgolte, "Europas Geschichte und Troia. Der Mythos im Mittelalter" in: *Troia, Traum und Wirklichkeit*, Barbara Theune-Grosskopf & al. eds., pp. 190–203 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001).

²⁴ Pannonia, the Roman province covering the region south and west of the Danube, was never called Upper Greece. It is listed e.g. in Quilichinus de Spoleto (ca.

and in Europe as far as Gades,²¹ and they left names of places and peoples, of which names most were afterwards changed. But others remain as they were, or are still close and akin. The sons of Japheth were: Gomer, after whom were named the Galatians and later the Gallici,²² who were called Francigenae after a certain Francio, who was the son of Paris, who was the son of Priam, the first king of Troy.²³ These people, leaving Troy after the fall of that city, came to Pannonia, which once in the time of Alexander the Great was called Upper Greece,²⁴ and there at the foot of Mount Syccan by the river Ister,²⁵ which in German is called the *Dun*, they built an exceedingly strong city, which they named Sicambria after Mount Syccan.²⁶ There they remained for four hundred years before the incarnation of Christ, and at last being in fear of the nations of the east they removed to the West and occupied the region around the river Sakana,²⁷ to which they gave the name of Francia from their leader Francio and called their principal city Paris after the father of this same Francio.²⁸ The second son of

1230), *Historia Alexandri Magni* (ed. Wolfgang Kirsch, Skopje: Universitetska pečatnica, 1971, pp. 177, 186) as conquered by the Macedonian, but this legend did not become a part of the Hungarian historical tradition.

²⁵ A confused description: the river Ister is the Danube, Mount Syccan, if its name comes from Sicanus, would refer to Mount Etna (Isidore, *Etym.* 14.6.32). The “German” word originates from *Donau*.

²⁶ The legend of Sicambria as a city founded by the Franks “of Troy” also features in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. (as above, there p. 245). The Sicambri, probably a Germanic tribe settled along the Rhine came to be a mythical name for the Franks. This “farrago nonsense” (see Ian Wood, “Defining the Franks: Frankish origins in early medieval historiography,” in: *From Roman Provinces to Medieval Kingdoms*, pp. 113–4, Thomas Noble, ed., London: Routledge, 2006) somehow reached Hungary where the city came to be identified with Óbuda (Vetus Buda) the oldest settlement of what is now Budapest; see: Alexander (Sándor) Eckhardt, “Sicambria, capitale légendaire des Français en Hongrie,” *Revue des Études Hongroises*, 6 (1928), pp.166–97.

²⁷ The river Seine.

²⁸ The name of Paris is thought to come from its inhabitants, the Gallic tribe *Parisii* whose name may go back to a Gallic word for “working people.”

sunt Medi, Iavan,²⁹ a quo Greci, unde in Ebreo adhuc Grecia nominatur Iavan^a, et Tubal, a quo descenderunt Hispani, et Mesoch, a quo Capadoce descenderunt, unde et apud eos adhuc Mazecab³⁰ civitas nominatur, et Tyras, a quo nominati sunt Traces. Porro filii Gomer: Assenech, a quo Troyani,³¹ filii Iavan: Elyza, a quo dicti sunt Elysei primo et post Eolides, et Tarsis, a quo descenderunt Cylices, unde et civitas metropolis eorum vocata est Tharsus, unde natus Paulus apostolus, ut habetur in Actibus apostolorum XXI-o capitulo.³² Et sequitur: ab hiis divide insule gentium in regionibus suis unusquisque secundum linguam suam.³³ Hoc dicitur hic per anticipationem, quia factum fuit postea tempore divisionis linguarum. Filii autem Cam: Chus, a quo dicti sunt Etyopes, unde in Ebreo Etyopia Chus nominatur, et Mezarim^b, a quo Egipcii, unde et in Ebreo Egyptus Mezarim dicitur, [4] Phut, a quo Sibies^c,³⁴ qui tamen primo vocati sunt Phutei, unde ibidem est fluvijs, qui usque nunc Phut dicitur, et Chanaan, a quo dicti sunt Chananei, quorum terra postea filiis Israel data est. Filii autem Chus: Saba, a quo dicti sunt Sabei, Cuila^d, a quo descenderunt Gentil^e,³⁵ et Sabatha, a quo Sabateni.

^a Ianan] recte Iavan

^b Mezarim] recte Mesraim

^c Sibies] recte Lybies

^d Cuila] recte Evila

^e Gentil] recte Getuli

²⁹ Cf. Gen 10: 2 and 4 (as well as Isidore, as above), but this chapter and the first half of the next follows Nicholas of Lyra. Biblical quotations within his text will not be marked.

³⁰ Caesarea, today Kayseri in Turkey. The ancient form of the place name was Mazaca/Mazaka used by classic authors like Herodotos.

³¹ Gen 10: 3 (the other sons are mentioned later).

³² Acts 21: 39; 22: 3, cited from Nicholas of Lyra.

Japheth was Magog, from whom according to Jerome are descended the Scythians; and Maday, after whom the Medes are named; and Iavan,²⁹ from whom are descended the Greeks, wherefore Greece is still called in Hebrew Iavan; and Tubal, from whom the Spaniards are descended; and Moshoch, from whom are descended the Cappadocians, wherefore there is still in their land a town called Mazecab;³⁰ and Tiras, after whom the Thracians are named. Further, the sons of Gomer there was Ashkenaz, whose descendants were the Trojans;³¹ among the sons of Iavan there were Elishah, after whom were named first the Elysei and then the Aeolians; and Tarshish, from whom are descended the Cilicians, whence also their capital bears the name of Tarsus. Here was born the Apostle Paul, as it is contained in the twenty-first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.³² And it is then said: By these were divided the islands of the Gentiles in their lands, every one according to his tongue.³³ This is said here in the way of anticipation, for it came to pass later, at the time of the confusion of the tongues. The sons of Ham were Cush, after whom are named the Ethiopians, wherefore in Hebrew Ethiopia is called Cush; and Mizraim, from whom are descended the Egyptians, whence also in Hebrew Egypt is called Mizraim; Phut, from whom are descended the Lybians,³⁴ but these were at first called Phutei, whence in their land there is a river which is still called Phut; and Canaan, after whom were called the Canaanites, whose land was later given to the children of Israel. The sons of Cush were Saba, after who are named the Sabei; Evilah, from whom are descended the Getuli;³⁵ and Sabatha, from whom are descended the Sabateni.

³³ Gen 10: 5, also via Nicholas of Lyra.

³⁴ Corrupted form, in Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2.11 they are *Libyi* (Libians).

³⁵ The *gentiles* variant of the ms. is corrupt; in Isidor and Nicholas of Lyra it reads *Getuli*.

4. Porro Chus genuit Nemproth.³⁶ Iste fuit, qui induxit posteritatem Noe ad faciendam civitatem et turrim contra Dominum, de qua dicitur Genesis XI-o capitulo. Ideo dicitur: ipse cepit esse potens in terra, quia per potentiam alios sibi submittebat et nolentes ad opus predictum compellebat. Ideo sequitur: et erat robustus venator, id est oppressor hominum coram Domino, quia nichil latet eius aspectui. Ob hoc exivit proverbium, id est verbum commune vel vulgatum: quasi Nemproth. Quando enim postea videbatur aliquis oppressor hominum, vocabatur alter Nemproth vel similis Nemproth. Fuit autem principium regni eius Babilon³⁷ et eius posteritas obtinuit regiones ad mare oceanum. Ex quibus apparet omnibus dictum illorum esse verum, qui dicunt, quod Hunor et Magor, patres Hungarorum, fuerunt filii Nemproth, qui fuit filius Cus, qui fuit Cam, qui fuit a Noe maledictus. Tum quia non essent Hungari de genere Iaphet³⁸ secundum dictum Beati Ieronimi, tum etiam quia Nemproth numquam habitavit circa fluvium Thanay, qui est ad orientem, sed ad mare oceanum. Ergo, sicut dicit Sacra Scriptura et sancti doctores, Hungari descenderunt a Mago[,]^a filio Iaphet, qui post diluvium anno quinquagesimo VIII-o, sicut dicit Sanctus Sigilbertus episcopus Antyocheus in *Cronica orientalium nationum*,³⁹ intravit terram Evilat⁴⁰ et ex coniuge sua Enee⁴¹ genuit Magor et Hunor, a quo Magari et Huni sunt nominati.⁴²

^a Mago Ms (littera ultima non legibilis, in var. Mss Magog)

³⁶ Here and four times below: Gen 10: 9 and not the eleventh chapter.

³⁷ These are the last words taken from Nicholas of Lyra ; after that, the author again follows Peter Comestor (MPL 198: 1088).

³⁸ The missing *non* is clearly a scribal error, since the chronicler here polemicizes with the tradition expressed in the parallel version of the Biblical ancestors of the Hungarians, as reflected in the family of the Chronicon Budense (in the Sambucus/Zsámboki codex, see SRH 1: 247–50), where they are connected to the line of Ham, the cursed son of Noah and the tyrant Nimrod (Nemphrot in Nicholas). The Japhetite line was seen as that of all European peoples (so also in Anon. ch. 1, p. 7 and SK ch. 4, p. 11), but Anon. connected the eponymous Magor with Magog son of Japhet (see Isidore, *Etym.* 9.2.27), while Simon of Kéza wrote about a “giant Ménrót ... of the seed of Japhet.” The latter’s name is close to Nimród’s, but became in Hungarian tradition a separate person, perhaps influenced by the narrative of the conquest age, where a Ménmarót (Anon. chs. 11, 20–1, 28, 50–3 pp. 33 &c.) is described as one of the main opponents of the Magyars. Actually, Nemrod is called Menrot in medieval German historicizing Bibles; see Eduard Reuss, *Die deutsche Historienbibel vor der Erfindung des Buchdrucks*, p. 20 (Jena; Mauke, 1855, repr. Wiesbaden 1966.)

4. 'Now Cush begot Nimrod.'³⁶ It was he who induced the descendants of Noah to build a city and a tower against the Lord, as is told in the eleventh chapter of the Book of Genesis. Therefore it is said: 'He began to be mighty on the earth;' for by his power he made others submit to him and compelled them to work against their will at the said building. So it is further said: 'And he was a stout hunter,' that is, an oppressor of men, 'before the Lord,' since nothing is hidden from His sight. Hence comes the proverb, that is, a common or well-known saying: Even as Nimrod. For when in later times anyone was seen to be an oppressor of men, he was called a second Nimrod or was likened to Nimrod. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel,³⁷ and his seed held the land as far as the ocean sea. Whence it is clear for all to see that the words of those are [not] true who say that Hunor and Magor, the fathers of the Hungarians, were the sons of Nimrod, who was the son of Cush, who was the son of Ham, who was cursed by Noah. For then the Hungarians would not be of the seed of Japheth,³⁸ as says the blessed Jerome; nor at any time did Nimrod live near the river Tanais, which is to the east, but he lived towards the seas of the ocean. Therefore, as sacred Scripture and the holy doctors say, the Hungarians are descended from Magog, the son of Japheth, who in the fifty-eighth year after the flood, as says St. Sigilbert, the bishop of Antioch in his *Chronicle of the eastern nations*,³⁹ came into the land of Evilah,⁴⁰ and from his wife Enee⁴¹ begat Magor and Hunor, from whom are named the Magyars and the Huns.⁴²

³⁹ Neither such an author, nor a bishop (patriarch) of Antioch by this name, nor such work is known. It is unknown, whence our author took this fictive title.

⁴⁰ Gen 2: 11 *Evila* and 25: 18 *Evilat* stand for Persia.

⁴¹ *Enee*, old Hung. 'ünö', means a she deer. This name and the miraculous hind leading the mythical ancestors to their new settlement (c. 5, below) are seen as fragmentary memories of some totemistic myth about the origin of the Hungarians; see Harald von Sicard, "Der wunderbare Hirsch (The marvelous stag)," *Acta Ethnographica Acad. Sc. Hung.* 20 (1971), pp. 231–86.

⁴² The two brothers, symbolizing the close relationship (or identity) of Huns and Magyars were an invention of Simon of Kéza (or an unknown model of his); see SK ch. 4, pp. 15–7. On the Western constructs about the Hun-Hungarian identity, see *ibid.* XLV–LXI (J. Szűcs).

5. PRIMA ORIGO DILATATIONIS HUNGARORUM IN ORIENTE SCYTHIE⁴³



⁴⁴ [5] Accidit autem dierum una venandi causa illos perrexisse, quibus in deserto cum cerva occurrisset, in palludes Meotydas⁴⁵ illam insequentes, fugit ante eos. Cumque ibi ante eos prorsus evanisset, diutius requisitam nullo modo invenire potuerunt. Per<a>gratis^a tandem paludibus memoratis pro armentis nutriendis ipsam conspexerunt oportunam. Deinde ad patrem redeuntes, ab ipso licentia inpetrata, cum rebus omnibus paludes Meotydas pro armentis nutriendis intrave-

runt moraturi. Regio quid<e>m^b Meotyda Perside patrie est vicina, quam undique preter vadum unum pontus gyro vallat, fluviiis curren<tibus>^c, herbis, silvis, piscibus, volucris et bestiis copiat, aditus illic difficilis et exitus. Paludes ergo Meotydas adeuntes quinque annis ibidem immobiliter permanserunt. Anno vero VI-o exeuntes in deserto loco sine maribus in thabernaculis permanentes uxores ac filios filiorum Bereka,⁴⁶ cum festum tube colerent

^a per<a>gratis] peregratis *Ms*

^b quid<e>m] quidam *Ms*

^c curren<tibus>] currens *Ms*

⁴³ The Scythian “prehistory” – all the way to the end of chapter 6 – goes back (at least) to Anon. ch. 1, pp. 5–13 who (as well as Simon whom our chronicler follows), in turn, borrowed most of it from the *Exordia scythica* (MGH AA 11/2, pp. 308–22, esp. 319–21) probably via Regino, see *Reginonis abbatis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, (MGH SSrG 50 [henceforth: *Chron.*] ad a. 889, pp. 131–3); cf. Simon MacLean, ed. and trans. *History and politics in late Carolingian*

5. THE BEGINNING OF THE SPREADING OF THE HUNGARIANS IN THE EASTERN PARTS OF SCYTHIA⁴³

⁴⁴It happened that one day they had gone out hunting, and in a deserted place there appeared before them a hind, which they followed into the Maeotian marshes⁴⁵ as it fled before them. When it disappeared completely before them, they could not find it in any way though they sought it for a long time. Having finally searched the said marshes thoroughly, they found that the place was suited for feeding herds. Thereupon they returned to their father and having obtained leave they went with all their goods to the Maeotian marshes, there to dwell and to raise herds. The Meotis region is near to the land of Persia, and except for a ford it is encircled by the sea; it is well watered and rich in grass, woods, fish, birds and beasts; it is difficult either to approach or to leave. Having thus come to the Maeotian marshes, they remained there for five years without moving further. But issuing forth in the sixth year, they happened in a deserted place to come upon the wives and sons of the sons of Bereka,⁴⁶ who were

and Ottonian Europe: the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg, pp. 202–6, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); see István Vásáry, “Medieval theories concerning the primordial homeland of the Hungarians,” in: *Popoli delle steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari*, Ovidio Capitani, ed., 1: pp. 213–42, (Spoleto: Centro, 1988, Settimane di studio &c. 35).

⁴⁴ Hist.in.: Hunters with dogs, in the background a (the miraculous) stag in the woods.

⁴⁵ The marshes around the Sea of Azov (‘Lake of Meotis’). Jordanes (*Getica*, XXI–II, 117 and XXIV 124, MGH AA 5,1, pp. 88–90; cf. Charles C. Mierow, *The Gothic history of Jordanes in English version with an introduction and a commentary*, Princeton 1915, repr. Cambridge, 1966, pp. 84, 86) placed the homeland of the Germanic Heruli in this area. Actually, Jordanes also mentioned a pursuit of a hind (*Getica*, XXIV, 123).

⁴⁶ Corrupted form of Belar, cf. SK ch. 5, p. 17, in Anon. ch. 27, p. 127. Bular is most likely referring to the Bulgars (reflecting the period when the Bulgars and Hungarians dwelled together, around 600–650 AD). The form ‘Bereka’ was probably influenced by the name of a Mongol khan, Berka (reigned 1257–67), brother of Batu Khan.

et coreas ducerent ad sonitum simphonie casu repererunt,⁴⁷ quos cum eorum rebus in paludes Meotydas rapinis celeribus deduxerunt. Hec fuit prima preda post diluvium. Accidit autem Dule⁴⁸ principis Alanorum⁴⁹ in illo prelio inter illos pueros duas filias comprehendere, quarum unam Hunor, aliam Magor sibi sumpserunt in uxorem. Ex quibus mulieribus omnes Huni sive Hungari originem sumpserunt.⁵⁰ Factum est autem, cum diutius in paludibus Meotidis habitassent, in gentem validissimam crescere ceperunt, nec eos capere ipsa regio poterat aut nutrire.⁵¹

6. Exploratoribus igitur abinde in Scythiam destinatis scrutinii astucia subtilissima Scythie regione explorata, cum pueris et armentis ipsam patriam intraverunt permansuri. Regnum igitur ipsum dum adissent Alpizuros, qui nunc Pruteni nuncupantur,⁵² in eo habitantes invenerunt. Quibus deletis et expulsis ac occisis, usque hodie ipsum regnum invitis vicinis possidere dignoscuntur.⁵³ Scythia

⁴⁷ It has been suggested that the “feast of the tube” could recall the memory of the blowing of the *shofar* on Jewish New Year’s Day (in fact known as the “Day of the Tuba”), that became known to the Hungarians when they lived under Khazar lordship (ca. 800–30 AD) and could have had some exposure to their Judaism, but it is rather far fetched.

⁴⁸ The name Dula may originate from a Danubian Bolgar tradition.

⁴⁹ Concerning the Alans, the ancient Hungarians lived next to them in the Caucasian region for a while before the ninth century; some time in the second half of the thirteenth century groups of Alans, called *As* (Hung. *Jász*) settled in Hungary together with the Cumans; on them, see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–c. 1300*, pp. 68–85 and passim (Cambridge: CUP, 2001). It is, however, unknown, whether in the time of the chroniclers anything about the ancient Alans was known.

⁵⁰ Note that the two people are here and in the following regarded as identical, just as in SK. — The story of the abduction of women may have been imported by Simon, see SK 5 p. 17. On this, see Barnes, R. H. “Marriage by Capture,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 1. (March 1999), pp. 57–73. Bride kidnapping, also known as marriage by abduction has been practiced throughout history around the world, see Sándor Makoldy, “A nőrablás és a rablőházasság szimbolikus maradványai hazánkban” [The symbolic remnants of bride kidnapping and marriage by abduction in Hungary]. *Ethnographia* 32 (1921), pp. 40–59. In pre-Christian Hungary (and at least in a symbolic way even later) the abduction of a bride was a common practice, condemned by the laws of

staying in their tents without any of their men folk, honoring the feast of the tuba and performing dances to the sound of music.⁴⁷ Quickly they fell upon them and carried them off with all their belongings to the Meotis marshes. This was the first plunder raid since the Flood. It happened also in that skirmish that besides the boys there were seized two daughters of Dula,⁴⁸ prince of the Alans,⁴⁹ of whom one was taken to wife by Hunor and the other by Magor; and from these women have sprung all the Huns, that is, Hungarians.⁵⁰ And it came about that when they had been dwelling for some time in the Meotis marshes, they began to grow into a most mighty nation, and the region could not contain them nor nourish them.⁵¹

6. Therefore having sent out scouts into Scythia to spy out closely and cunningly the Scythian land, they moved thither with their children and their herds to dwell in that country. When they came into that kingdom, they found it inhabited by the Alpidzuri, now called the Prussians,⁵² whom they exterminated, driving them out or killing them; and until this day they are known to possess the land against the will of their neighbors.⁵³ The region

St. Stephen I: 27 (DRMH 1: 6). In the Old Testament (Jud 21: 15–25) one of the Jewish tribes counted its origin from the sons of Benjamin who kidnapped the daughters of Silo. This happened also at a festivity, just as the story of Magor and, incidentally, also the Sabine women of Roman history (Livy, *A.u.c.* 1. 9–13).

⁵¹ Overpopulation was a common motive for migration in medieval historiography; cf. Paul the Deacon, *Historia* 1.1 for the Lombards, and Regino, *Chron.* (as above) about the Hungarians.

⁵² A confused statement; Alpidzuri are mentioned by Jordanes (*Getica* 24.126, MGH AA 5.1, p. 90; cf. Mierow, p. 86). The Prussians are mentioned in SK (5 p. 19) but they are differentiated from the *Alpzuros*.

⁵³ It is tempting to read this sentence as referring to the Hungarians who remained near the Ural Mountains in what in the thirteenth century came to be called *Magna Hungaria*, and where Friar Julian found Hungarians (see: *Relatio fratri Ricardi*, SRH 2: 535–42). They were swept away by the Mongol invasion in 1236/37. The term was not unknown in Europe; for example Godfrey of Viterbo (*Memoria seculorum* MGH SS 22, p. 104), wrote about Trojan princes who came *in Hungariam veterem* (that he places in Maeotis), but it is not known to what extent it was remembered in Hungary; see Vásáry, “Medieval theories” as n. 43, p. 14 above, pp. 226–42.

enim regio in Europa situm habet et extenditur versus orientem, ab uno latere ponto Aquilonari, ab [6] alio vero Ripheis montibus includitur.⁵⁴ Cui de oriente Asya et de occidente fluvius Etul, id est Don. Gentes siquidem in eadem procreate otia amplectuntur, vanitatibus dedite, nature dedignantis, actibus venereis intendentes, rapinas amant, generaliter colore plus nigre quam albe. Scytia enim comprehensione una cingitur, sed in tria regna dividitur principando, scilicet in Bascardiam, <D>enciam^a et Magoriam.⁵⁵ Habet quoque provincias C et VIII, que dudum per filios Hunor et Mogor ob centum et octo progenies, que egresse fuerant ex femoribus eorumdem, de paludibus Meotydis intrantes S<c>ytiā sunt divise.⁵⁶ Regno autem S<c>ytico de oriente regnum iungitur Iurianorum, et post hec Tarsia,⁵⁷ tandem vero Mangalia, ubi et Europa terminatur. Ex plaga autem estivali subsola<na>^b gens iacet Corosmina et Ethyopia, que Minor India dicitur.⁵⁸ Et post hec inter meridiem et cursum Don fluvii est desertum inmeabile, ubi propter intemperiem aeris illius zone sunt serpentes diversi generis, rane velud porci, basilli<s>cus et plura animalia toxicata, tigris et unicornis ibi generantur. Don grandis fluvius est, in Scytia oritur, ab Hungaris Etul nuncupatur,⁵⁹ et ibi montes niveos, qui Scytiam cingunt, transcurrit, amisso nomine Don vocatur. Circa enim meridiem iuxta ipsum iacet gens Kytanorum et gens Alanorum, tandem in mare cadit Rotundum tribus ramusculis.⁶⁰ Alter quoque

^a <D>enciam] Benciam *Ms*

^b subsola<na>] subsolari *Ms*

⁵⁴ The Northern Sea is probably a fictitious sea; the Rifean mountains a mythical border in the east.

⁵⁵ Bascardia (=Bashkiria?) may refer to the region between the rivers Volga and Kama and the Ural Mountains, where *Magna Hungaria* (see above) was believed to be located. The words Dencia and Mogoria may derive from the name *Dentumoger* used for Scythia and its inhabitants by Anon. (1 &c., pp. 5, 7 &c.).

⁵⁶ There are different explanations for the number 108, such as adding the seven Magyar and the one Kabar tribe to the number one hundred, or as the double of the Kabalistic number 54 or—more down to earth—as a number from the lost “Hungarian Domesday Book” of Judge Kharkas of the late eleventh century. As the number of the original Hungarian clans it is a reasonable estimate, see SK p. 23, n. 3.

of Scythia is situated in Europe and stretches towards the east. It is bounded on the one side by the Northern Sea and on the other by the Rifean Mountains.⁵⁴ Its eastern limit is Asia and its western is the river Etul, that is, the Don. Its peoples indulge themselves in a life of leisure and are given up to vanities of a dishonoring nature, abandoning themselves to acts of veneriness; they love to go on forays, and in complexion they are generally black rather than white. Though Scythia encloses a single territory, yet it is divided into three kingdoms, namely Bascardia, Dencia and Mogoria.⁵⁵ It has also one hundred and eight provinces, which of old were apportioned among the hundred and eight tribes issued from the loins of the sons of Hunor and Magor after they had entered Scythia from the Maeotian marshes.⁵⁶ The Scythian kingdom is bordered on the east by the kingdom of the Georgians, and then Tarsia,⁵⁷ and finally Mongolia, where Europe ends. To the south are the peoples of Choresm and Ethiopia, which is called India Minor.⁵⁸ Between this southerly region and the river Don is an impassable desert, where on account of the intemperate air of this zone there are serpents of divers kinds, frogs as large as swine, basilisks and many poisonous beasts, and tigers and unicorns litter there. The Don is a mighty river. It rises in Scythia, and by the Hungarians is called Etul;⁵⁹ taking its course through the snowy mountains which encircle Scythia, it loses this name and is called the Don. Towards the south there dwell upon its banks the people of the Kytani and the people of the Alani, and at last it flows by three mouths into the Round Sea.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The land of the Tatars, Iranian Tarsa, later Turkestan. According to Haithon of Gorigos (d. 1314) it was the kingdom of the Uighurs, see *The Defective Version of Mandeville's Travels*, Michael C. Seymour, ed., p. 163, Oxford: OUP, 2002. (Early English Text Society Original Series).

⁵⁸ Cf. SK ch. 6, p. 19.

⁵⁹ *Etul* is Turkic for 'river,' thus could be identified with several rivers, like in ch. 3 (pp. 7–8 above) with the river Tanais/Don.

⁶⁰ Kytani that is the Empire of Kara Kitai, that existed between 1141 and 1218. The Round See is the Caspian See.

fluvius nomine Thogata valde magnus in regno nascitur Scythico-
rum, qui per silvas vadit desertas, paludes et montes niveos, ubi sol
numquam lucet, discurrens intrat tandem in Irchaniam et ibi vergit
in mare Aquilonis.⁶¹ Longitudo quidem S<c>ytyce patrie trecentis
et sexaginta stadiis exten<d>i^a perhibetur, latitudo C nonaginta.
Situm enim habet tam munitum, quod in solo loco uno parvissi-
mo vadus ibi reperitur, propter quod ipsi Scythe nulli imperio, nec
etiam Macedonico aliquo tempore sunt subiecti.⁶² Et pro tanto
vocamus eos Dempptos, id est exemptos ab omni potestate. Dici-
mus etiam Dentos⁶³ a dentositate, quia sicut dentes omnia corro-
dunt et triturant, ita ipsi omnes alias nationes triturbabant. Unde
Romani eos vocabant flagellum Dei.⁶⁴ Sola tamen dicta Scytia in
quibusdam locis satis lata^b esse dicitur. Nemoribus, silvis, herbis ve-
nustata, diversique generis bestiis dives et referta. Cui de oriente
vicini sunt Bessi et Cumani Albi.⁶⁵ Circa etiam mare Aquilonis de
occidente, quod ei vicinatur usque Susdaliā⁶⁶ est de [7]sertum sil-
vestre, humano generi inmeabile, quod ad magnum spatium exten-
di perhibetur, ubi nubium densitas per novem menses continue
iacet, ubi sol non cernitur per menses memoratos, nisi in mense
Iulio, Iunio et Augusto, et hoc in tanta hora diei, quanta est a sexta
usque ad nonam. In montibus enim deserti memorati cristallus in-

^a exten<d>i] extenti *Ms*

^b lata] *recte leta SK*

⁶¹ The name of the river Togata comes from the river Togora in SK (ch. 6, pp. 19, 21), borrowed from Orosius *Historia* 1.2.44. However unlikely, it has been identified with the Huang Ho (Yellow River in China). — Hyrcania refers to the region of the Caspian Sea, see Orosius, *Historia* 1.1.2.

⁶² The invincibility of the Scythians and their not having been conquered even by Alexander the Great is repeatedly emphasized by Anon. chs. 1 and 8 (pp. 11, 25) quoting verbatim Regino (as above, n. 43, p. 14).

⁶³ Dempsti, from the Latin verb *demere*, 'exempt'; *denti* comes from the Latin *dens*, 'tooth.' In spite of the dual etymology, the word is most likely connected to the enigmatic *Dentumoger* of Anon. (as above).

⁶⁴ The biblical phrase (Iz 10: 26), was also used by St. Augustine (*De civitate Dei*, 1: 8 and then widely for the Huns of Attila (see e.g. SK ch. 10 p. 39), see also below, ch. 10, p. 30 as part of the imaginary royal style of Attila. The Venerable

Also in the kingdom of the Scythians is the source of another great river, the Togata by name, which makes its way through desolate woods, swamps and snowy mountains where the sun never shines, and at last, reaching the land of Hyrcania turns towards the Northern Sea.⁶¹ The kingdom of Scythia is believed to be three hundred and sixty stades in length and one hundred and ninety in breadth. By its situation it is so well guarded that there can be found only at one place a very small ford, wherefore the Scythians have been subject at no time by another power, not even by the Macedonian.⁶² And for that reason we call them Dempsti, which is to say that they are exempt from all domination. We call them also Denti,⁶³ from their teeth, for just as teeth chew and crush all things, so did they crush all other nations. Wherefore the Romans called them the scourge of God.⁶⁴ In some parts the land of Scythia is said to be fertile. It is beautified with groves, woods and pasture, and there is plentiful abundance of animals of different kinds. Its neighbors on the east are the Pechenegs and the White Cumans.⁶⁵ From the shores of the Northern sea, by which it is bounded to the west, there stretches as far as Suzdal'⁶⁶ a wooded desolation impassable to man and believed to be of great dimensions; for nine

Bede regarded the Anglo-Saxons as fulfilling divine will (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, eds., Oxford: Clarendon, 1969; rev. edn, Oxford, 1999, pp. 52–53), cf. Ben Snook, "Just War in Anglo Saxon England: Transmission and Reception," pp. 99–120, here 102–103, in: *War and Peace: Critical Issues in European Societies and Literature 800–1800*, Albrecht Classen, Nadia Margoli, eds. (Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2011). In the *Vita S Stephani Regis* Bishop Hartvic applied it to the Hungarians (SRH 2: p. 402, cf. English tr. by Nora Berend, in: *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, Thomas Head, ed., pp. 375–98, here p. 379 New York–London: Garland, 2000).

⁶⁵ The Pechenegs and the White Cumans were people known to live in the southern steppe in the seventh-ninth centuries, some of them later settled in Hungary (mentioned by both Anon. and SK, see the Indexes there, and many times below [see Index pp. 417, 419]), thus in no ways "eastern" neighbors of the mythical Scythia, rather western ones.

⁶⁶ Suzdal', town and capital of the Vladimir-Suzdal' Principality from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

venitur, grifones nidum parant, avesque legisfalk, que Hungarice kerecheth appellantur, pullos procreare dignoscuntur.⁶⁷

7. PRIMUS INGRESSUS HUNGARORUM IN PANNONIAM⁶⁸



Anno ab incarnatione Domini CCC-o LXX-o III-o tempore Valentis imperatoris et Celestini primi, pape Romane ecclesie, in sexta etate seculi⁶⁹ multiplicati Huni in Scythia habitando, congregati in unum, inter se capitaneis constitutis Wele, filio Chele de genere Zemein oriundo, Keve et Kadicha eiusdem Ethele, Kewe et Buda, filiis Bendekus de genere Cadar^a, ad occidentales regiones invadere decreverunt.⁷⁰ De centum enim et octo tribubus decies centena milia, scilicet de uno quoque genere decem milia armatorum virorum eligentes, derelictis aliis Hunis in Scythia, qui

^a Cadar] Eadar Ms

⁶⁷ See SK ch. 7, p. 22, n. 1. The word used here comes from German *Gerfalk* or *Jägerfalk*; the Hungarian version, of Slavic origin, survives in place names connected with falconers.

months of the year it lies continuously beneath thick cloud, and during these months the sun is not seen, except in June, July and August, and then only from the sixth to the ninth hour of the day. In the mountains of this desolate place is found crystal, gryphons make their nest, and the falcons which in Hungarian are called *kerecset* here bring forth their brood.⁶⁷

7. THE FIRST ENTRY OF THE HUNGARIANS INTO PANNONIA⁶⁸

In the year 373 of the incarnation of the Lord, in the time of the Emperor Valens and Celestine I, pope of the Roman Church, in the sixth age of the world,⁶⁹ the Huns, having multiplied in numbers while they stayed in Scythia, assembled together and having chosen among themselves as captains Béla, the son of Csele of the kindred of Szemény, and Keve and Kadocsa, his brothers, and Etele, Keve and Buda, sons of Bendegúz of the kindred of Kádár, they determined to invade the western regions.⁷⁰ Having chosen from their hundred and eight tribes ten times a hundred thousand armed men, that is to say from each tribe ten thousand, they left the rest of the Huns behind them in Scythia to protect their places of abode and their kingdom against enemies. They chose from their number one judge, Kádár by name, of the kindred

⁶⁸ From here for several chapters, the chronicle follows SK chapters 7 sqq. We will cross refer to it, as the annotations in SK are more detailed than here.

⁶⁹ Valens, Roman co-emperor reigned 364–78, (St) Coelestin I was pope 422–32. The date 373 A.D. is closer to reality, much more than the 700 A. D. of Simon (SK ch. 7 p. 25). The ‘sixth age’ (introduced by St Augustine) is what is called A. D. or the Common Era.

⁷⁰ Etele is the Hungarian form of Attila, king of the Huns. Buda is the Hungarian variant of Attila’s brother, Bleda, transformed with the intention to find an eponymous founder for the city of Buda (see below, ch. 13, pp. 40–41). Béla appears in the Latin—where the letter B is often rotated right—as *Wela*. Most of the other protagonists in the Hun-Hungarian story are fictive, their names borrowed from personal names of medieval (mostly thirteenth century) charters (like that of Szemény), or place names (like that of Keve). For details see SK p. 26, n. 1.

ipsorum sedes regnumque ab hoste custodirent. Constituentes inter se rectorem unum nomine Kadar de genere Turda, qui lites sopiret dissidentium, fures et latrones ac malefactores castigaret, ita tamen, ut si rector idem inmoderatam sententiam diffiniret, in irritum posset comunitas revocare errantem rectorem et capi[8] taneos deponeret^a, quando vellet^b. Consuetudo itaque ista legitima inter Hunos sive Hungaros usque ad tempora ducis Geyche filii Toxun⁷¹ extitit observata. Ante etenim baptismum Hungarorum in castris vox preconia clamando taliter Hunos congregabat ad exercitum: Vox Dei et communitatis universe, quod unusquisque in tali loco armatus vel sicuti est^c, debeat precise comparere communitatis preceptum ac consilium auditurus. Quicumque ergo edictum contempsisset non valens pretendere rationem, cultu divino^d per medium lex Scytica sanctiebat, aut ire in desperatas causas, vel in comunium servitium inmisericorditer tradebatur. Vitia itaque et huiusmodi excessus unum Hunum ab aliis fecerunt sep<a>rari^e. Alias autem, cum unus pater et una mater Hunos omnes generans procreaverit, quomodo unus nobilis et alter ignobilis esse diceretur, nisi victus per hos casus criminis haberetur?⁷²

8.⁷³ Tunc omnes capitanei simul uno animo unoque consilio egressi de Scythia, intrantes tandem Bissos et Cumanos Albos, deinde Susdalos Ruthenos terramque Nigrorum Cumanorum intravere. Abinde egressi usque ad Tysciam pervenerunt, qua quidem regione circumspecta concorditer placuit omni cetui ulterius non incedere cum uxoribus et armentis. Cum uxoribus enim et bigis et suis thabernaculis de natali solo descenderant. Cumque eo tempore Panno-

^a deponeret] deponerent *Ms*

^b vellet] vellent *Ms*

^c est] esse *Ms*

^d cultu divino] recte cultro dividi *SK*

^e sep<a>rari] seperari *Ms*

⁷¹ Taksony, grandson of Árpád, was grand duke of the Hungarian tribes after the defeat at Augsburg in 955; he is mentioned in DAI (ch. 40, pp. 178–9) and by Liutprand, see Livdprandi Cremonensis. *Opera omnia: Antapodosis, Homelia pas-*

of Torda, who should settle quarrels between those in dispute and punish thieves, robbers and wrongdoers, yet under the condition that if this judge should hand down an inordinate sentence, the community could cancel [it] as invalid, and have the errant judge or the captains depose whenever it wanted. This custom was the law and continued to be observed among the Huns, that is Hungarians, until the time of Duke Géza, the son of Taksony.⁷¹ For before the baptism of the Hungarians, the crier's voice summoned them to arms in their encampments thus: "The word of God and of the whole community is that every man shall punctually appear at such-and-such a place, armed or as he is, to hear the command and decision of the community." On any man who should disregard the order without being able to offer an excuse, the Scythian law imposed the penalty that he should be cut in two by the sword or exposed to hopeless situations or given over without mercy into communal slavery. Thus it was by such sins and offences that a Hun became set apart from his fellows. For how else, since one father and one mother had begotten and procreated all the Huns, could one of them be called noble and another not noble, unless he were held to be guilty of such crime? ⁷²

8.⁷³ Then all the captains being of one mind and counsel, they went forth out of Scythia and entered the land of the Pechenegs and the White Cumans, then of the Suzdalians and the Ruthenes and the country of the Black Cumans. Having departed thence, they came to the [river] Tisza, and after they had surveyed this region, it pleased every group not to go any further with their wives and flocks; for they had left their native soil with their wives and

chalis, Historia Ottonis, Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana. Paulo Chiesa ed., p. 144 ad a. 947 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998). His sons were Géza, the future grand duke (died 997) and Michael.

⁷² The previous paragraph is almost verbatim quoted from SK pp. 27–31 (on details, see the notes there). About the significance of this legendary foundation of "popular sovereignty" and the justification of inequality (and its parallels in other traditions), see the study of Jenő Szűcs, *ibid.* pp. LXXXV–IC.

⁷³ Cf. SK ch. 8, pp. 31–4.

niam, Pamphiliam, Frigiam, Macedoniam et Dalmaciam tetrarcha Macrinus natione Longobardus, de Sabaria oriundus gubernaret,⁷⁴ armis bellicis informatus, audito, quod Huni super Tysciam resedisent et de die in diem devastarent regnum eius, cum alumpnis sui regni ipsos agredi formidans, ad Romanos nuntios suos destinavit, petens sibi auxilium commodari contra Hunos. Ex gratia etenim Romanorum imperatoris memoratis imperabat. Romani vero eo tempore Detricum de Verona natione Alamanum⁷⁵ voluntarie super se regem prefecerant. Quem petentes, ut Macrino subsidium importaret, illo autem animo gratanti annuente, egressus est cum exercitu Ytalico, Germanico ac aliis mixtis gentibus partis occidentis. Pervenit tandem in Zazholm^a,⁷⁶ ubi ipsi Longobardi ad civitatem Potencianam⁷⁷ convenerant, ut tractarent cum Macrino consilium, utrum Hunos in eorum thabernaculis, in suo descensu, transmeando Danubium vel in alio loco conpetenti invadere oporteret.

9.⁷⁸ In istis itaque consiliis et tractatibus De[9]trico Macrinoque residentibus Huni super utres noctis in silentio in Sicambria Danubium transeuntes,⁷⁹ Macrini et Detrici exercitum, quem civitas Potenciana capere non poterat, in campis in tentoriis commorantem crudeliter trucidarunt. Ex qua enim invasione Detricus acerbatu exivit contra Hunos in campum Tarnukvolg^b pugnaturus, qui committendo prelium Hunos fertur devicisse cum suorum maximo interitu et periculo. Ex Hunis vero qui remanserunt, fugerunt ultra Tysciam. Ceciderunt autem illo die ex Hunis C et XXV milia

^a *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Zazhalom*

^b *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Tarnokvolgy*

⁷⁴ Macrinus is probably a corruption from the name of Marcianus, Eastern Roman emperor (450–57) mentioned in Jordanes *Getica* (49.255, MGH AA 5,1, p. 141; cf. Mierow, p. 124) as *princeps orientis*; he has nothing to do with the Roman town Sabaria (today Szombathely) where St. Martin of Tours was born; cf. SK pp. 32–33.

⁷⁵ Detricus de Verona, or Dietrich von Bern is the guise of Theoderic the Great, king of the Ostrogoths (471–526) as a major protagonist of several thirteenth-century German verse narratives. In the *Nibelungenlied* he regains his power with the help of the Huns, cf. SK pp. 35–69 passim.

⁷⁶ Százhalombatta, 30 km south of Budapest, where some 120 Celtic tumuli were found (Cf. Anon. ch. 46, p. 101–3).

wagons and tents. Now at this time, Pannonia, Pamphilia, Phrygia, Macedonia and Dalmatia were under the governorship of the tetrarch Macrinus, born in Sabaria of Lombard origin,⁷⁴ well versed in the art of warfare. When he was informed that the Huns had settled in the around the Tisza and day after day were laying waste his lands, being afraid to attack them with the men of his own kingdom he sent messengers to the Romans asking for help against the Huns. For it was by favor of the emperor of the Romans that he held sway over the aforesaid territories. Now the Romans at that time had freely set above themselves as King Dietrich of Verona, a German by nationality.⁷⁵ When they requested him that he should give aid to Macrinus, he readily consented and went out with an army of Italians and Germans and from other nations of the West. He came at length to Százhalombatta,⁷⁶ where the Lombards had themselves mustered in the town of Potenciana⁷⁷ in order to take counsel with Macrinus whether they should attack the Huns in their tents of their encampment after crossing the Danube, or elsewhere as it might seem favorable.

9.⁷⁸ While Dietrich and Macrinus were thus deliberating and debating, the Huns crossed the Danube at Sicambria silently by night on skins,⁷⁹ and attacking the army of Macrinus and Dietrich which the town of Potenciana was too small to hold, they cruelly butchered them in their tents in the open fields. Enraged at this onslaught, Dietrich went out and joined battle with the Huns on the field of Tárnokvölgy, where he is said to have routed them, with great loss and peril to his own men. Those of the Huns who sur-

⁷⁴ A fictive place name playing on Latin *potentia*, 'power'; however it may be derived from Polenza, the place of a battle between the Romans and Goths in 402.

⁷⁸ Cf. SK ch. 9, pp. 34–8.

⁷⁹ This way of crossing rivers was widespread among steppe people; see Denis Sinor "On water transport in Central Eurasia." *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 33 (1961) pp. 156–179. (reprint in idem, *Inner Asia and its Contacts with Medieval Europe* (London: [Variorum Reprints] 1977). Frequently recorded for the Mongols, e.g. by John of Plano Carpini, see. Christopher Dawson, trans. *The Mongol mission* p. 35 (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955); also mentioned by Anon. ch. 7, p. 42.

Keveque capitaneus interiit et in ipso prelio inter illos. Ex Detrici vero et Macrini <exercitu> exceptis illis, qui in suis tentoriis fuerant trucidati, CC et II^a milia corruerunt. Videns autem Detricus tantam cedem accidisse^b sui populi in prelio, post congressum altera die perrexit versus Tulnam civitatem cum Macrino, que tunc erat civitas Latinorum inter urbes Pannonie computata. Tulna civitas est in Austria, tres rastas distat Vienne^c. Ut autem cognoverunt Huni retrocessisse suos adversarios, ad locum certaminis sunt reversi et cadavera suorum sociorum et Kevam capitaneum more S<c>ythico prope stratum, ut putamus,^d sollempnis lapidea est erecta, decentissime subterrarunt locumque illum et partes illas Kewe Oza^e vocaverunt.⁸⁰ Experientes igitur in prelio precesso animositatem Romanorum et armorum paraturam, resarcito exercitu versus Tulnam civitatem, ubi se inimici eorum collegerant, Huni perrexerunt. Contra quos Detricus cum Macrino in Cezumaur dicitur occurrisse, et a mane usque ad nonam preliantes Romani sunt devicti. Ubi et Macrinus mortuus est, et Detricus per sagittam in fronte vulneratus, totoque exercitu Romanorum interempto ac fugato. Ex Hunis vero in illo prelio quadraginta milia perierunt, Wela, Kewe et Kadicha ibidem interfectis, quorum cadavera abinde removentes apud statuam memoratam cum aliis Hunis sepulture tradiderunt. Postquam autem Romanorum exercitus de Cezunmaur est dispersus, numquam deinceps per plures annos contra Hunos congregari potuerunt.

^a II] decem *in var. Mss, SK*

^b *Add. et posterius delineavit de*

^c Vienne] *recte* Vienna

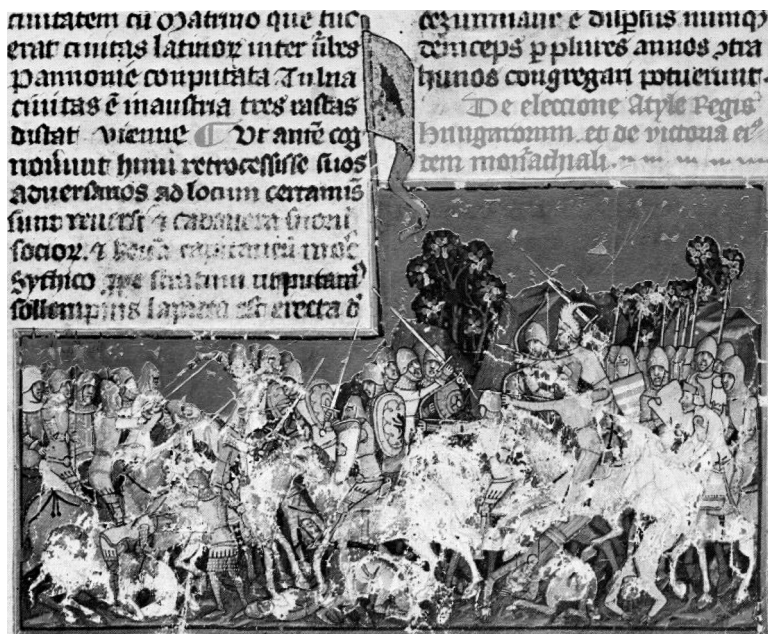
^d stratum, ut putamus] *recte* stratam, ubi statua *var. Mss*

^e *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Keuehaza*

vived the battle fled beyond the Tisza. Of the Huns there fell on that day one hundred and twenty-five thousand, and Keve, the captain, also perished in the battle. Of the armies of Dietrich and Macrinus, besides those who were slain in their tents, two hundred and two thousand lost their lives. Seeing that his people had suffered such slaughter, Dietrich on the day after the engagement marched with Macrinus to the city of Tulln, which was then a town of the Latins and was reckoned among the great cities of Pan-
nonia. Tulln is a town in Austria, three days march from Vienna. When the Huns learned that their enemy had withdrawn, they returned to the battlefield and taking up the bodies of their comrades and of Keve, their captain, they gave them, as we believe, most honorable and solemn burial, erecting a stone statue after the Scythian custom; and they called that place and those parts Keve-
aszó.⁸⁰ Having now gained in the previous battle experience of the spirit of the Romans and of their weapons, the Huns, after reassembling their army, advanced towards the city of Tulln, where their enemies had gathered. Dietrich, together with Macrinus, is said to have joined battle with them at Zeiselmauer, and in an engagement lasting from early morning until the ninth hour the Romans were utterly defeated. Macrinus was killed, Dietrich was wounded in the forehead by an arrow, and the whole Roman army was destroyed or put to flight. In that battle there fell forty thousand of the Huns; Béla, Keve and Kadocsa were also slain upon the field, and their bodies were removed and given burial with the other Huns beside the statue of which we have spoken. After the army of the Romans had been scattered at Zeiselmauer, they could not gather any forces against the Huns for many years.

⁸⁰ For reading: Keveháza, 'the house of Keve' see SK pp. 27, 36–37 and other MSS of the chronicle; it could also be Keveaszó where *aszó* means 'temporary river bed.'

10. DE ELECTIONE ATYLE REGIS HUNGARORUM ET DE VICTORIA EIUSDEM MONARCHIALI⁸¹



⁸²[10]Anno ab incarnatione Domini quadringentesimo primo, ab ingressu vero Hungarorum in Pannoniam anno XXVIII-o Hungari sive Huni concordi voluntate Atylam, filium Bendekus consuetudine Romanorum super se regem prefecerunt, qui primo unus de capitaneis habebatur,⁸³ et ipse Budam fratrem suum de flumine Tysce usque Don principem constituit ac rectorem, vocarique se faciens regem Hungarorum, metum orbis, flagellum Dei. Atyla Dei gratia filius Bendekus nepos magni Magor, nutritus in Engadi,⁸⁴ rex Hunorum, Medorum, Gottorum, Danorum, metus orbis terre et flagellum Dei. Erat enim rex Atila colore teter, oculis furiosus, elatus incessu, pectore lato, barbam prolixam deferebat, venerius etiam erat ultra modum. In archa sua es tenere contempnebat, audacie quidem temperate, astutissimus in preliis ac sollicitus, fortitudinis competentis suo corpore habebatur, in voluntate mag-

10. THE ELECTION OF ATTILA AS KING OF THE HUNGARIANS AND HIS ROYAL VICTORIES⁸¹

⁸²In the four hundred and first year of the incarnation of the Lord and in the twenty-eighth year after the entry of the Hungarians into Pannonia, the Hungarians, or the Huns, chose by common consent to be king over them, after the manner of the Romans, Attila, the son of Bendegúz, who previously was held to be one of their captains.⁸³ He appointed his brother Buda as prince and governor over the region from the river Tisza to the Don, and he caused himself to be called the king of the Hungarians, the terror of the world, the scourge of God, Attila, by the grace of God the son of Bendegúz, grandson of the great Magor, bred in Engaddi,⁸⁴ king of the Huns, the Medes, the Goths and the Danes, the terror of the world and the scourge of God. King Attila was of a swarthy complexion, fierce of eye, proud of gait, broad chested, his beard thick, and he was beyond all measure lustful. He scorned to keep money in a chest; though a man of audacity, yet he governed himself; in the conduct of battles he was most astute and circumspect; he was said to be of suitable bodily strength, and his disposition was magnan-

⁸¹ Cf. SK ch. 10, pp. 39–44.

⁸² Inh. in.: Enthroned and crowned figure (Attila) with orb and scepter.

⁸³ The date is wrong; Attila reigned from 434 to 453.

⁸⁴ It is enigmatic how Engaddi, the name of a Biblical city (Josh 15: 62), got associated with Attila. — The long imaginary “royal style” of Attila—note the *Dei gratia* in it!—reminds one of the equally long *intitulatio* of kings of Hungary; see János M. Bak, “Lists in the Service of Legitimation in Central European Sources” in *The Charm of a List: From the Sumerians to Computerised Data Processing*, Lucie Doležalová, ed., pp. 34–45 esp. pp. 42–5 (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

nanimus, armis pollitis, mundis thabernaculis cultuque utebatur. Amabatur siquidem ab extranea natione, eo quod esset liberalis ac communis, ex natura vero serenitatem^a, quam habebat, mirabiliter a suis timebatur. Linguarum ideoque diversarum nationes^b de finibus orbis terre ad eum confluebant, quibus liberaliter pro posse affluebat. Habebat enim decem milia curruum falcatorum, diversas machinas et omnia ingenia, quibus castra urbesque confringuntur, que in suo exercitu secum ferebat. Thabernacula quidem variis modis diversorum regnorum operata habere consueverat. Unum tamen habebat sic celebre ac sollempne, ut ex laminis aureis mirifice coniunctim solidat<um>^c modo solvi et nunc reconiungi [ad] attendentium staret voluntatem. Columpne eius ex auro laborate habentes iuncturas opera ductilia, in medio tamen vacue, in suis iuncturis lapidibus pretiosis fabrefacte iungebantur. Sed et sua maristalla, dum pergeret ad exercitum, diversarum patriarum equis <replebatur>, quos quamvis visus esset <caros> habuisse, largiter tamen egentibus tribuebat ita quidem, [11] ut duos haberet aliquando pro usu equitandi. Iste vero maristalle ex bisso et purpura habebant paraturam. Sed et regales selle ex auro fuerant et lapidibus pretiosis laborate. Mensa erat tota aurea, vasa etiam coquinaria aurea erant. Talamus autem eius ex auro purissimo mirifice fabrefact<us>^d secum in exercitu ferebatur. In huiusmodi igitur et aliis seculi pompis Atyla rex Hunorum erat gloriosus.⁸⁵ Expediit vero sua preter extraneas nationes decies centenis milibus virorum armatorum replebatur, ita quidem, ut si unum Sciticum decedere contigisset, statim pro ipso alter ponebatur. Arma quidem gentis eius ex corio maxime et metallis variis diversimode fuerant laborata, arcus habens et lanceas acutissimas pariter et cultros accinctos in femore. <Ba>nerium^e quoque regis Atile, quod in suo scuto ge-

^a serenitatem] *recte se<ver>itatem SK*

^b nationes] *forse nation(um) Ms*

^c solidat<um>] *solidata Ms*

^d fabrefact<us>] *febrefacte Ms*

^e <Ba>nerium] *Galnerium Ms*

imous. Arms, tents and all his gear were kept spotless. He was beloved by other nations, because he was generous and simple. He was of severe character, yet held in wondrous awe by his own people. People of divers languages and nations streamed to him from the ends of the world, and he was generous to them as lavishly as he could. He had ten thousand scythed chariots, and in the train of his army there were various machines of war and all the engines with which castles and cities are demolished. He used to have tents fitted out in the various manners of different kingdoms. One of these was especially famous and majestic; it was marvelously fashioned of gold plates which could be taken apart and put together again at will. Its columns, which were hollow, were wrought in sheets of gold and where these joined, precious stones were skillfully inlaid. His stables, when he went to war, were [filled] with horses of many a different race, which he is said to have greatly [loved]; yet he freely gave them away to those who lacked a horse, so that sometimes he had only two to ride himself. The stables were fitted out in linen and purple. The royal saddles also were made of gold and set with precious stones. His table was all of gold and the cooking vessels were also of gold. His bed, of finest gold and wonderfully fashioned, was borne with his army. Thus in these and other matters of worldly pomp Attila, king of the Hungarians, was famous.⁸⁵ The strength of his armies, besides those of foreign peoples, was ten hundred thousands of men in arms, so that if a Scythian fell another was there right away to fill his place. His warriors wore arms made of leather and different metals. They had bows and very sharp lances, and carried swords belted to their thigh. On his shield, At-

⁸⁵ It is worth noting that the pomp of Attila's court as contained in the Hungarian tradition is in contradiction with the contemporary report of Priskos Rhetor/ Panites in *Excerpta et fragmenta*, Pia Carolla, ed. ex. 8, pp. 51–2 (Berlin–New York: de Gruyter, 2008) emphasizing the modesty of the Hun. The image of the rich court may have been borrowed from the Alexander-tradition, e.g. from *Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni* III: 22, 28; cf. István Borzsák, *A Nagy Sándor hagyomány Magyarországon* [The Alexander the Great tradition in Hungary], esp. pp. 15–20 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984).

stare consueverat, similitudinem austuris⁸⁶ in capite habebat cum corona. Quod signum Hungari, dum se regerent per communitatem,⁸⁷ usque tempora ducis Geyche filii Toxun in exercitu semper communium gestavere.⁸⁸

11. CONTINUATIO HYSTORIE⁸⁹

⁹⁰Postquam autem conmisso prelio in Cezumaur redissent Huni cum victoria ad sua thabernacula, diebus paucis ultra Tisciam cum uxoribus permanserunt, et hoc facto rex Atyla ad unum diem sollempnem curiam fecit congregari, in quam Detricus de Verona cum principibus Germanie accedens, omnem omaginem et reverentiam regi Atyle fecisse perhibetur. Suggestit itaque regi ad partes occidentales personaliter accedere, ubi magnum honorem possit adipisci. Cuius quidem amplectens consilium, exercitu statim proclamato, egressus de Siccambria primo Illiricos dicitur invasisse, deinde Constancie <Renum>^a pertransivit. Cui Sigismendus^b rex occurrit circa Basileam⁹¹ cum exercitu magno, quem cum gente tota conterens, suo dominio subiugavit. A loco autem illo egressus iuxta Renum Argentinam civitatem obsedit, quam quidem civitatem Romanorum nullus cesar potuit primitus expugnare, ipse Atyla expugnavit diruendo murum eius in diversis locis, ut cunctis advenientibus sine gravitate via libera preberetur, edicens firmissime, ne ipsius murus ipso vivente muraretur, ut eadem civitas non Ar-

^a Renum] regnum *Ms*

^b Sigismendus] *recte* Sigismundus *var. Mss*

⁸⁶ SK identified the hawk by the Turkic word *turul* (p. 43) and then called Árpád “of the Turul kindred” (p. 81) thus stressing the continuity between the Huns and Hungarians. The illuminator drew a hunting bird—however, without crown—on the shield of Attila and of several Hungarian captains in inhabited initials, see below, chapters 27–34. The chronicler does not use the word *turul* and it was virtually forgotten until the Romantic age when it became a symbol of Magyar nationalism.

⁸⁷ On notion of the “community” see the above quoted study of Jenő Szűcs in SK, esp. pp. LXXVI–IC.

tila used to carry a coat of arms, in the likeness of a hawk⁸⁶ with crowned head. So long as they governed themselves as a community,⁸⁷ until the times of the Duke Géza, son of Taksony, all the Hungarians in the army carried this sign.⁸⁸

11. CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY⁸⁹

⁹⁰Having returned to their encampment in victory from the battle at Zeiselmauer, the Huns remained with their wives only for a few days on the further side of the Tisza, and after this king Attila caused a solemn assembly to be held at one day, to which came Dietrich of Verona with the princes of Germany, and he is said to have made his act of homage and fealty to King Attila. He proposed also to the king that he should in person go to the West, where he could gain great honor. Which counsel he accepted, and at once summoned his army; having left Sicambria, he is said first to have overrun the country of the Illyrians, and then he traversed the Rhine at Konstanz. King Sigismund met him with a great army near Basle,⁹¹ whom he vanquished with all his people and subjected to his rule. Leaving this place, he laid siege to the city of Argentina on the Rhine, which place no emperor of the Romans had been able to take. But Attila took it by breaching the wall in many places, so that a free and open way was made and he issued a most strict edict that during his lifetime the walls of the town

⁸⁸ Martyn Rady, in "Recollecting Attila: Some medieval Hungarian images and their antecedents," *Central Europe* 1 (2003) 1: pp. 5–18 (see also *Studies*, pp. 127 to 138), pointed out that the Hungarian historians, from Anon. to the IC and beyond mixed diverse historical traditions of Attila; one (the "Gothic") more valiant, the other ("Nordic" and others) more vicious. The following chapter reflect elements of both, down to the death of the Hun and the fate of his people.

⁸⁹ Cf. SK ch. 11, pp. 44–8.

⁹⁰ Inh. in.: Same person as above (ch. 10, p. 88) in half-figure, this time wearing a caftan.

⁹¹ Sigismund was king of Burgundy (516–23), he is mentioned in a different context in Jordanes *Getica* (58.298, MGH AA 5,1, p. 131; cf. Mierow, p. 137).

gentina, sed Strozburg⁹² vocaretur propter viarum plur<al>itatem, quas in muro eius fecerat aperiri. Amoto igitur suo exercitu de Argentina Luxonium, [12] Bizanciam, Chalon, Masticio, Ligonem, Burgundiam et Lugdunum^a destrui fecit civitates usque terram. Et egressus inde iuxta fluvium Rodanum pervenit Cathalamus^b, ubi diviso suo exercitu tertiam partem sue gentis contra Miramammom soldanum potentissimum⁹³ cum electis capitaneis destinavit. Quo audito idem de urbe Sibilie fugit ante Hunos in Marrochiam brachio maris, quod strictum Sibilie dicitur, transpassato.⁹⁴ Hoc facto incerto^c regem Atylam Romanorum patricius dictus Eucius⁹⁵ cum decem regibus occidentis invasit ex obrupto. Cumque insultum niterentur facere super Atylam, per nuncios petens inducias preliandi, ut copia sue gentis, que fuerat adversus soldanum destinata, remearet, illis rennuentibus inter ambos exercitus a mane usque ad noctem in campo, qui Bewinde^d.⁹⁶ dicitur, prelium est commissum. Erat enim inter ambos exercitus fluvius discurrens tam parvissimus, ut si capillum in ipsum quis iactasset, suo lento motu vix potuisset inferius remove. Prelio autem iam facto animalium et hominum sanguinem inundando tantus torrens fuisse perhibetur, ut aurigam cum curru intro traheret ac armatos fieretque mortalitas non modica per torrentem in utroque exercitu. Illud ergo prelium, quod commissum extitit inter reges occidentis et Atylam in campo Beusscite^e Cathalaunis, omnibus preliis huius mundi, que commissa sunt uno die et loco uno, terribiliora et magis ardua per veteres non memorantur. In quo quidem conflictu rex Gotto-

^a Burgundiam et Lugdunum] *recte* Lugdunum Burgundie SK

^b Cathalamus] *recte* Cathalaunis SK

^c incerto] *recte* interea SK

^d Bewinde] *cf.* Belvider SK

^e Beusscite] Bewinde *var.* Mss

⁹² (We retained here the German form to rescue the reference to *Strasse*, 'road.') The author's etymology of Strasbourg is correct insofar as it is based on the city's being on a major road; only it has nothing to do with Attila.

⁹³ The fictive name here is an Arabic honorary title of caliphs and sultans; actually this is the origin of the word 'admiral.'

should remain dismantled, and that its name should be not Argentina but Strassburg⁹² on account of all the roads which he had made through its walls. Then marching his army from Strasbourg, he caused the cities of Luxeuil, Besançon, Chalon-sur-Saône, Mâcon, Langres, Burgundy and Lyon to be leveled to the ground. Following thence the river Rhône, he came to Catalaunum, where he divided his army and the third part he sent under chosen captains against Miramamma, a most powerful sultan.⁹³ But he, learning of the approach of the Huns, fled before them from the city of Seville to Morocco, crossing an arm of the sea which is called the straits of Sevilla.⁹⁴ After this, in the meantime a patrician of the Romans, Aetius by name,⁹⁵ suddenly came against King Attila with ten kings of the West. And when they wished to make an assault upon Attila, he sent messengers to request a truce, in order that the forces of his people sent against the sultan might return; and this being refused, from early morning till nightfall a battle was fought between the two armies on the field which is called Beauvoir.⁹⁶ Now between the armies there flowed a stream so small that a hair cast upon the water would hardly have been carried downwards by the slow current. But in the battle, being flooded with the blood of animals and men, it is said to have become such a torrent that it could have carried away a chariot, its driver, and armed men and caused to both armies no small loss of life. This battle which was joined between the kings of the West and Attila on the field of Beauvoir by Catalaunum was more terrible than all the battles which have been fought in this world on any one day

⁹⁴ This is, of course, the Strait of Gibraltar, here named by the Spanish city near-by and not the Moroccan one; see *Enciclopedia dantesca*, Umberto Bosco, ed. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 2nd ed. 1984, vol. 5, p. 273).

⁹⁵ Flavius Aetius (d. 454) patricius, consul, and *magister utriusque militiae*.

⁹⁶ Although Jordanes (*Getica* 36, MGH AA 5,1, pp. 108–9; cf. Mierow, pp. 105–7) placed the battle of 14 June 451 to *Campi Cataluni, qui et Mauriaci* believed to have been near Châlons s/M (Attila had to face a multiethnic army of Theoderic and Aetius at a field near Troyes; see István Bóna, *Das Hunnenreich*, p. 94 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1991); its connection to *Belvider* (Beauvoir?) is Simon's invention (SK chs. 11 and 13, pp. 46, 50).

rum Marinus^a, nomine Aldaricus⁹⁷ extitit interemptus. Cuius quippe obitum dum alii reges cognovissent, qui occisi non fuerant, fuge latebras queritarunt. Ab illo ergo die *elevatum est cor*⁹⁸ Hunorum et regis Atyle, timorque percussit orbem terre. Quo audito censu eis et tributo plurima regna servierunt.

12.⁹⁹ Tertia vero pars exercitus Atyle regis, que non potuit in hoc prelio interesse, timens Atylam propter moram, usque vitam Atyle remansit Cathalaunis, eiusdem patrie habitatores tandem sunt effecti Pannoniam nolentes remeare. Erant enim soli Huni adversus Miramammonam destinati sexaginta quinque milia excepta extranea natione. Ex hiis etiam Hunis plures fuerant capitanei constituti, qui lingua ipsorum spani vocabantur, ex quorum quidem nominibus Yspania tota nomen [13] assumpsit.¹⁰⁰

13.¹⁰¹ In loco siquidem prelii diebus paucis Atyla commorante regressus est demum cum victoria venitque in civitatem Tolosanam, in qua per cives cum summa laude est receptus. Abinde se removens abiit contra Remensem civitatem, scilicet capitalem urbem Gallicorum, que ei, dum pergeret Cathalanniam, resisterat^b vehementer, quam occupans sine mora, omnes, quos ibi reperit, igne ac gladio devastavit. Taliterque tota Francia et Flandria demolita pervenit Coloniam, ubi Sanctam Ursulam Bractanorum^c regis filiam cum undecim milibus virginum Hunorum feritas crudeliter iugulavit.¹⁰² Reno^d ibidem Colonie transpassato deinde intrans

^a Marinus] *recte* maximus *var.* *Mss, SK*

^b resisterat] *recte* restiterat *var.* *Mss, SK*

^c Bractanorum] *recte* Brittanorum *SK*

^d Reno] Regno *Ms*

⁹⁷ It was Theoderic I, king of the Visigoths (418–451) who died there and not Ard-aric, king of the Gepids.

⁹⁸ Biblical commonplace, see e.g. 2 Chron. 26: 16.

⁹⁹ Cf. SK ch. 12, pp. 48–50.

and at any place, nor do the ancients tell of any greater. In this battle the greatest king of the Goths, Ardaric,⁹⁷ was slain. Learning of his death, the other kings who had not been killed sought safety in flight. After that day the *heart* of the Huns and of King Attila *was uplifted*,⁹⁸ and fear shook the whole world, and at hearing of this many kingdoms became tributaries to them and paid taxes.

12.⁹⁹ The third part of King Attila's army which could not take part in this battle, were in fear of Attila because of their delaying. They therefore remained in Catalonia during his lifetime, and they settled at length in this country, not wishing to return to Pannonia. Among those sent against Miramammona there were sixty-five thousand of the Huns alone, not counting other nations. Many of the Huns were appointed captains, being called in their own tongue '*ispán*,' whence *Yspania* became the name of the whole country.¹⁰⁰

13.¹⁰¹ Having remained a few days at the place of battle, Attila returned in victory and came to the city of Toulouse where he was received by the citizens with high honors. Removing thence, he marched against the city of Rheims, the capital city of the Franks, which had strongly resisted him on his march to Catalaunum; but he occupied it now without delay, destroying all whom he found there with fire and sword. Having thus laid waste all France and Flanders, he came to Cologne, where in merciless cruelty the Huns slaughtered St. Ursula, daughter of the king of the Britons, and eleven thousand virgins.¹⁰² Having passed over the Rhine at Co-

¹⁰⁰ A play of words between the Hungarian name—*ispán*—of the officer at the head of a county (in Latin *comes*) and the name of Spain. Simon of Kéza similarly played with the names of Catalaunum and Catalonia (SK ch. 11, p. 47).

¹⁰¹ See SK ch. 13, pp. 50–3.

¹⁰² The legend of St Ursula and her eleven thousand companions emerged in the ninth century, was connected with the Huns, and became widespread in Christendom; its authenticity and details (numbers of martyrs, names, etc.) were always problematic. For details, see BHL 1218–21.

Turingiam apud Ysmacum civitatem,¹⁰³ curia sollempni in ipsa celebrata, super Dacos, Norvanos, Frisones, Lytuanos et Prutenos exercitum destinavit, quos devictos sibi fecit deservire. Egressus vero curia celebrata Siccambriam Pannonie civitatem intravit, in qua propriis manibus udam^a fratrem suum interfecit ac corpus eius in Danubium proiecit, quoniam ipse Atyla in partibus occidentalibus demorante, ibidem Buda inter ipsum et Atylam fratrem suum metas statutas transgressus fuerat dominando.¹⁰⁴ Nam Siccambriam suo nomine fecerat nominari Budawara. Et quamvis rex Atyla Hunis ac aliis gentibus posuisset interdictum, ut eadem civitas non Budavara, sed urbs Atyle vocaretur, Teutonici interdictum formidantes Eccylburg eam vocant,¹⁰⁵ id est urbs Atyle, Hungari vero interdictum non curantes adhuc eam Oubudam usque hodie vocant et appellant.¹⁰⁶ Hiis itaque sic peractis quinque annis Siccambrie requievit speculatoribus suis per mundi quatuor partes destinatis sive distributis. Speculatorum quidem prima societas de Siccambria ordinatim, in quantum unius clamor potuisset ad alium exaudiri, die ac nocte Colonie, Germanie civitate stare consueverat, altera pars usque Lytuam, tertia in littore Don fluvii, id est Etul, sed quarta statio Yadrie, Dalmacie civitate consistebat. Quorum quidem clamore et voce, quid Atyla ageret, vel quali exercitationi esset deditus, mundi quatuor partes scire potuissent.

^a udam] Sudam *Ms*

¹⁰³ The meeting in Eisenach was mentioned by SK, ch. 13, p. 51; the city is also mentioned in another context in ch. 36, p. 79 below. It was well known in Hungary as the court of St. Elisabeth, daughter of King Andrew II.

¹⁰⁴ Bleda died in 445, to which year the chronicle erroneously dates Attila's death; see ch. 24.

logne, he entered Thuringia near the city of Eisenach¹⁰³ and having held there a solemn assembly, he sent armies against the Danes, the Norsemen, the Frisians, the Lithuanians and the Prussians, whom he defeated and made subject. Leaving these parts after the holding of the assembly, he entered Sicambria in Pannonia, in which city he slew with his own hands his brother Buda and cast his body into the Danube because while Attila sojourned in the regions of the west Buda had greedily disregarded the limits set between him and his brother Attila¹⁰⁴ by causing Sicambria to be called by the name of Budavára, after himself. And although King Attila issued a decree to the Huns and other nations that the name of that town should be not Budavára but the city of Attila—and the Germans, fearing this edict, call it Etzelburg,¹⁰⁵ that is, the city of Attila. The Hungarians, caring nothing for the decree, name and call it Óbuda until this day.¹⁰⁶ After this, he remained quiet for five years at Sicambria, while his spies were sent out and distributed through the four quarters of the earth. Posted so that they were within ear-shot of one another by day or night, one company of spies kept Sicambria in touch with the German city of Cologne, a second with Lithuania, while a third was sent to the banks of the river Don, that is the Etul, and the fourth to Zadar, a city of Dalmatia. From their shouts and cries the four quarters of the earth might know what Attila was doing or with what campaigns he was engaged.

¹⁰³ Etzelburg, in all likelihood referring to Buda (but maybe to Esztergom) comes from the *Nibelungenlied*; for details, see Anon. chs. 1, 47, 49, 50, pp. 9, 103, 107.

¹⁰⁶ On Buda and Óbuda, see András Kubinyi, *Die Anfänge Ofens*, (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1972); soon to be augmented by *Medieval Buda in Context*, Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady and Katalin Szende, eds., pp. 366–386. (Leiden: Brill, 2016.).

14. FUGAT NATIONES¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁸Pannonie, Pamphilie, Frigie, Macedonie et Dalmacie civitates, que per Hunos obsidione crebra erant fatigate, natali solo derelicto in Apuliam [14] per mare Adriaticum licentia ab Atila impetrata, servire ipsi Atyle rennuentes, dimissis armentis transierunt, Vlachis, qui ipsorum coloni existere^a ac pastores, remanent<ibus>^b sponte in Pannonia.¹⁰⁹

15. REX ATYLA EXPUGNAT CIVITATEM
AQUILEGIAM¹¹⁰

¹¹¹Cumque rex Atyla quinque annis Siccambrie repausasset, sui exercitus defectum, videlicet tertie partis, que dudum remanserat Cathalaunis, resarcire procuravit curiaque celebrata egressus de Pannonia, per Carinthiam, Stiriam et Dalma-

tiam pertransiens, apud urbem Salonam et Spaletum mari Adriatico se coniunxit ambasque urbes fecit concremari. Ab illo vero loco egressus perrexit circa mare Traguram, Sardonam, Sibinicum, Iadram, Nonam, Sceniam, Parenciam, Polam, Caputstriam, Terrestriam civitates et alia multa oppida, in montibus discurrens^c, pervenit tandem Aquilegiam,¹¹² cuius quippe magnitudine conspecta abhorruit et se confusum reputans, si dictam urbem inexpugnabilem^d reliquisset, pro eo maxime, quia plures rebelles Longobardi

^a existere] *recte* extitere *var. Mss*

^b remanent<ibus> *var. Mss*] remanentes *Mss*

^c discurrens] *recte* destruens *var. Mss*

^d inexpugnabilem] *recte* inexpugnatam *var. Mss, SK*

¹⁰⁷ Cf. SK ch. 14, p. 54.

14. NATIONS PUT TO FLIGHT¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁸The cities of Pannonia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Macedonia and Dalmatia had suffered greatly from the repeated sieges by the Huns, and their citizens, having sought permission from Attila, refusing to serve Attila, disbanded their flocks and leaving their native soil they crossed the Adriatic sea into Apulia, while the Vlachs, who were their peasants and shepherds, remained of their own will in Pannonia.¹⁰⁹

15. KING ATTLA STORMS THE CITY OF AQUILEIA¹¹⁰

¹¹¹For five years King Attila rested in Sicambria and repaired the loss to his army of that third part which had remained in Catalonia. Then after holding an assembly he left Pannonia and passing through Carinthia, Styria and Dalmatia he reached the Adriatic sea near Solin and Split, both of which towns he burned to the ground. He then left these parts and proceeded along the coast by way of Trogir, Skradin, Šibenik, Zadar, Nin, Senj, Poreč, Pula, Koper, Trieste and many other cities and towns. At length, having crossed the mountains, he came to Aquileia.¹¹² He was astounded at the greatness of this city and thought that it would be an embarrassment to him if he were to let it stand unconquered, all the more so as many rebellious Lombards were said to have fled thither from Pannonia. Therefore when the burghers had refused the de-

¹⁰⁸ Inh. in.: Crowned three-quarter figure (Attila) in yellow caftan with saber and cross-mounted orb.

¹⁰⁹ Vlachs was the medieval and early modern name for Romanians and other pastoral populations of the northern Balkans. They are mentioned within the kingdom of Hungary from the early thirteenth century onwards. Anon. has a very different story about the Vlachs (ch. 9, p. 27).

¹¹⁰ Cf. SK ch. 15, pp. 54–58.

¹¹¹ Inh. in.: Full figure of crowned prince (Attila) wearing armor including shoulder pieces with golden fringes, sword and shield displaying a black bird on a silver field.

¹¹² The city was besieged in 452.

de Pannonia fugisse in ipsam ferebantur. Quos cum per nuncios a civibus repetisset [15] illosque tradere recusassent, expugnare cepit diversis machinis civitatem, quam cum capere nullatenus potuisset, obsedit eam uno anno et dimidio. Accidit autem die uno, ut ipsam civitatem circuiret, multis phitoniciis eius lateri adherentibus, in quibus iuxta fidei sue opinionem spem maximam apponebat, videns ciconiam de mari evolantem et in pinnaculo unius palacii, in quo habebat nidum suum, resedissee. Acceptoque in rostro pullo uno in maris arundines illum deportavit. Reversa iterato et alios pullos suos simul cum nido transportavit. Quo viso rex Atyla suos milites ad se vocans, dicit eis: Cernite socii, qu<o>d^a ista ciconia futurorum fatorum indicia <notat> et urbem istam per nos sentit diruendam, ad fugam, ne pereat cum civibus, se communit.¹¹³ Estote ergo in prelio die crastina fortiores, videbitis civitatem ruituram. Tunc edicto proclamato, machinarum omni^b genere adhibito, cum non potuisset civitatem expugnare cum machinis, consilio Scythicorum usus sellam unam ex decies centenis milibus de quolibet postulavit fecitque ex sellis iuxta muri circulum congeriem vehementem et iussit incendi sellas ipsas, quarum flamma et ardore murus se dissolvens cum turribus in terram est prostratus. Quo viso cives omnes derelicta urbe in insulam maris fugerunt, quandam enim insulam maris Aquilegie contiguam decreverunt introire eterno ibidem permansuri, que vera^c Venecia usque hodie nominatur. In qua^d quidem aliquamdiu habitantes propter metum regis Atyle ipsa derelicta, insulam, que Realt dicitur, intraverunt permansuri.

^a qu<o>d] quid *Ms*

^b omni] omnium *Ms*

^c vera] *recte* Vetus, cf. *SK* Vecca

^d Qua] quam *Ms*

mand of his messengers that they should deliver these men up to him, he began to attack the city with divers engines; and when he could not take it thus, he invested it for a year and a half. Now it chanced one day that he was going around the town in the company of many soothsayers in whom he according to his faith put great trust, and he saw a stork fly in from the sea and land upon a pinnacle of a palace where it had its nest. In its beak it took up one of its young and carried it away into the reeds in the sea. Then it returned and removed the rest of its young, together with the nest. Seeing this, King Attila called the warriors to him and said to them: "See, comrades, this stork is the sign of future events. It is aware that by us the city is to be destroyed and therefore it betakes itself to flight lest it should perish with the citizens."¹¹³ Therefore tomorrow be stronger in battle and you shall see the town fall." An order was then issued, all the engines of every kind were brought up; and when he could not take the city by means of the engines, he employed a Scythian stratagem. He demanded a saddle from each of his ten hundred thousand men, and of these saddles he made a huge heap against the circle of the wall and commanded to set fire to them; and in the heat of their flames the wall with its towers crumbled and fell to the ground. Whereupon all the burghers left the city and fled to an island of the sea near Aquileia, where they resolved to stay for ever; and until this day the island is called *Vecca Venezia*. They lived here for some time, but because of their fear of King Attila they left it and took up their abode in an island which is called Rialto.

¹¹³ We did not find an exact parallel to this legend, however it may have had an Eastern origin, see Maenchen-Helfen, Otto J., *The World of the Huns: Studies in Their History and Culture*. Max Knight, ed., pp. 133–134 (Berkeley, Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1973). For the saddles see SK p. 58.

16. DE ORTU VENETORUM¹¹⁴

¹¹⁵Veneti quidem^a sunt Troiani, ut cronica canit veterorum.^{b, 116} Post excidium tamen Troie Aquilegie permanserunt, quam fundasse perhibentur. Veneti quidem non accipiunt originem de Sabaria, ut quidam opinantur. Nam Sabarie Latini, [16] Longobardi^c videlicet inhabitabant, et erat ibi scola generalis¹¹⁷ tam ipsis Longobardis, quam aliis gentibus orbis terre poetarum, multis^d philosophorum dogmatibus luculenter illustrata et variis ydolorum erroribus mancipata, quam quidam rex Gottorum nomine Arcellavus¹¹⁸ primo volens capere, diu obsessam non potuit. Demum metus orbis expugnavit. Cuius nempe incole per Hunos expulsi nunc habitant Papye in Ytalia, iuxta flumen Ticini.¹¹⁹

17. DEVASTANT ALAMANIAM¹²⁰

¹²¹Destructa itaque civitate Aquilegie et Concordia¹²² demum in Foro Iulii destruxit civitatem.¹²³ Abinde in marhiam^c intrans Longobardie Tervisium, Paduam, Veronam, Brixam, Cremonam, Mantuam, Pergamum, Mediolanum, Alexandriam¹²⁴ et Ferrariam

^a Quidem] quidam *Ms*

^b Veterorum] *recte* Venetorum

^c *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis* Sabaria

^d multis] *recte* musis *SK*

^e marhiam] *recte* marchiam

¹¹⁴ Cf. SK ch. 16, pp. 58–59.

¹¹⁵ Hist. in.: Four persons rowing in a boat in front of towered city (Venice?)

¹¹⁶ SK has a better reading: *cronica Venetorum*, “the chronicle of the Venetians” (p. 58). Four or five chronicles of Venetian history from earlier than the late thirteenth century are known, Simon may have been familiar with either of them.

¹¹⁷ Sabaria (now Szombathely), the birthplace of St. Martin, was not known for its school, but the monastery dedicated to St. Martin, now called Pannonhalma, was famous for its library and school.

¹¹⁸ Fictitious name; similar ones appear in Jordanes and Orosius.

16. THE ORIGIN OF THE VENETIANS¹¹⁴

¹¹⁵The Venetians are indeed Trojans, as is sung in the chronicle of the ancients.¹¹⁶ After the fall of Troy they settled at Aquileia, which they are said to have founded. The Venetians do not accept that they came, as some say, from Sabaria. For Sabaria was inhabited by Latins, namely Lombards, and there was a seat of learning there,¹¹⁷ frequented both by the Lombards themselves and by other nations of the earth and made illustrious by the many teachings of poets and philosophers; and it was also a place of divers idolatries. In earlier time a king of the Goths, Arcellaus by name,¹¹⁸ wished to capture it, but he could not do so, though he besieged it for a long time. At last it was stormed by the terror of the world. Driven out by the Huns, its inhabitants now dwell in Pavia in Italy on the river Ticino.¹¹⁹

17. THEY LAY WASTE GERMANY¹²⁰

¹²¹Having thus destroyed the city of Aquileia and Concordia¹²², he also destroyed a city¹²³ in Friuli. Thence entering the march of Lombardy, he made subject to his dominion the cities of Treviso, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, Bergamo, Milan, Alessandria¹²⁴ and Ferrara, and many other cities of this region. After this he came to Ravenna, where the archbishop of

¹¹⁹ The Langobards were in fact driven out of Pannonia by the Avars in 568.

¹²⁰ A false rubric; the chapter reports on events in Italy. Cf. SK ch. 17, pp. 61–64.

¹²¹ Hist. in.: Mounted warriors, first of whom in sleeveless smock and golden hat (Attila) is looking up to a small red angel (left), met by clerks, led by a mitred bishop (Pope Leo), right.

¹²² Today Concordia Sagittaria. The campaign in North Italy took place in 452.

¹²³ That is Cividale del Friuli.

¹²⁴ Alessandria was founded in 1168. Its inclusion into the chronicle suggests that the source for this section must have been written in the late twelfth century. It is noteworthy that Simon (p. 61) did not include it among the cities sacked by the Huns.

aliasque plures urbes ipsius regionis suo subiugavit dominio. Post hec Ravennam dum venisset, Arrianorum archipresul,¹²⁵ qui in ipsa civitate contra sedem apostolicam XII cardinales fecerat elevari, sectam suam imitantes, habens thesaurum copiosum, civibus ignorantibus in urbem Ravennam clam Hunos intromisit filiosque baptismatis,¹²⁶ qui in ipsa civitate erant potiores, fecit iugulari promittens nichilominus regi Atyle, quod si secte sue adhesionem fueritque Christianos persecutus, totam Italiam et Romanam civitatem et Affricam sine fatigatione sue gentis et expensis sibi subiugaret. Cumque Atyla libenter annuisset ac magis oblectatus amore domini quam secte memorate, cognoscentes Romani periculum, quod inde potuisset emergere Christianis, Leonem adeunt apostolicum,¹²⁷ ut ad Atilam debeat dirigere gressus suos petens eum ex parte Romanorum, ut acciperet census ac servitia, quamdiu viveret ipse Atyla. Interea rex Atyla ad Apuliam exercitum suum destinavit, constituens ipsi exercitui capitaneum Zorard ex tribu Zoard¹²⁸ [17] oriundum, qui quidem Apuliam, Terram Laboris et Calabriam usque Regionem civitatem et Catonam, quam sapiens Cato fundasse dicitur, spoliavit et cum summa preda revertitur. Cumque Leo papa cum cleri multitudine ac crucibus ad Atilam Ravennam pervenisset, in campo simul in equis colloquium habuerunt, et dum promissa et verba audisset Romanorum, onerosa videbantur regi Atile, admisit tamen postulata ob reverentiam sedis apostolice et timorem ymaginis apparentis. Nam cum idem rex oculos superius elevasset, vidit supra caput suum pendere hominem in aere habentem gladium in manu sua, qui ipsius caput quasi stridentibus dentibus truncare minabatur.¹²⁹ Et sic Romanis admittendo postulata, apostolico licentia data rex Ravennam est ingressus, in qua quidem archipresulem Arrianum

¹²⁵ The figure of Bishop John (452–94) seems to be rather legendary (though counted among the saints), see Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, p. 139 (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), the translation of Agnelli, *Liber pontificalis* ch. 37. In fact, in 450–51 the bishop was Peter I, and Attila never reached Ravenna.

¹²⁶ That is, the Catholics.

¹²⁷ Pope St. Leo I the Great (440–461), they met at the river Mincio.

the Arians,¹²⁵ who had much treasure, had raised up twelve cardinals as dignitaries of his own sect against the Apostolic See. Without the knowledge of the burghers, he secretly admitted the Huns into the city of Ravenna and caused the baptized sons of the Church,¹²⁶ who were the stronger party in the town, to be slaughtered, promising King Attila that if he would adhere to his sect and persecute the Christians, he could without trouble to his people or expense to himself subjugate all Italy, the city of Rome, and Africa. To which Attila, tempted by love of power rather than of the aforesaid sect, right willingly consented. But the Romans, understanding how great a danger could arise for the Christians, appealed to Pope Leo¹²⁷ that he would go to Attila and in the name of the Romans ask him to accept their tribute and service as long as he should live. King Attila meanwhile had dispatched an army to Apulia, appointing as its captain Zovárd, of the tribe of Zovárd;¹²⁸ and he ravaged the lands of Apulia, Terra di Lavoro and Calabria as far as the town of Reggio and Catania, which the wise Cato is said to have founded, and returned with rich booty. When Pope Leo with a great company of clerks and with crosses came to Attila at Ravenna, they held their colloquy on horseback in the open field. King Attila, hearing the promises and words of the Romans, found them burdensome; yet he fulfilled their request because he revered the apostolic see and because he was made afraid by a vision. For when the king raised his eyes upwards, above his head he saw a man floating in the air and having in his hand a sword with which, gnashing his teeth, he threatened to behead him.¹²⁹ Having thus accepted the Romans' conditions the king with apostolic permission entered Ravenna, where, following the pope's counsel, he ordered the archbishop

¹²⁸ His figure was borrowed from the Hungarian historical tradition, cf. Anon. chs. 7, 33 &c. pp. 21, 71 &c. and SK ch. 17, p. 64. On the other hand Liudprand (*Antapodosis* 3.2) mentions a Hungarian warlord, Salardus ravaging Italy in 924.

¹²⁹ On this, see Maoro Calzolari, *Papa Leone e Attila al Mincio. Il percorso di una tradizione* (Mantova: Sometti, 2013). A similar vision appears during the fights of Solomon and Ladislav, see below ch. 129, pp. 240–1.

fecit captivari cum suis sequacibus pape imitatus consilium. Et postquam exegisset ab eo et complicibus suis LX milia marcarum auri, ipso iugulato cum omni copia sui exercitus fren<um>^a re-
trovertit, Pannoniam est reversus. Dum ergo per meridiem, occi-
dentem, aquilonem atque orientem longe lateque suum imperium
extendisset, vertebat in animo suo transfretare, ut Egiptios, Assi-
rios et Affricam subiugaret.

18. ATYLA REX UXORATUR ¹³⁰

¹³¹Tunc filiam regis Bractanorum nomine Mikolch¹³² supra for-
mam humanam pulchriorem sibi adducunt ad amandum. Quam
in tantum a<da>masse^b perhibetur, ut modum excesserat, sicuti
moris erat ei in potando. Factoque fine coitus puelle us<u>que
consumato, de naribus eius sanguis egrediens suppino dormienti
cruor per os in guttur intravit, ubi sanguis coagulatus tractum in-
pediens anhelitus Atylam interemit. Mikolch vero de sompno exci-
tata, cum suum dominum motu celeri tetigisset et ille se movere
non potuisset, cernens corpus frigidatum et privatum calore natu-
rali, cubicularios regios eiulatu magno [18] ad se vocans dominum
suum eis demonstrans universe carnis viam introisse. Qui sane
clamore terribili perstrependo universos vigiles ad hostia palatii
eorum eiulatu fecerunt cursitare. Sepelieruntque eum cum Wele,
Kadicha et Kewe et aliis capitaneis Hunorum in loco superius me-
morato.¹³³

^a fren<um>] freno *Ms*

^b Amasse] adamasse *var. Ms, SK*

¹³⁰ Cf. SK ch. 18, pp. 65–66.

¹³¹ Hist. in.: [heavily damaged] Attila and his wife in bed (?).

of the Arians and his followers to be put in prison. After he had exacted from him and his accomplices sixty thousand gold marks, he had him put to death; then with all his army he returned to Pannonia. Thus far and wide, to the south, the west, the north and the east, he had extended his dominion, and it was in his mind to cross the seas in order that he might subdue the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and Africa.

18. KING ATTILA MARRIES¹³⁰

¹³¹Then they brought to him the daughter of the king of the Bractians, that he might love her; her name was Micolt¹³² and her beauty was more than that of a mortal woman. He is said to have loved her beyond measure, and he drank more copiously than was his wont. When he had lain with her and intercourse was ended, he bled from the nose as he was lying upon his back, and the blood entering his mouth went down into his throat, where it thickened and stopped his breathing and so killed Attila. Arousing from sleep, Micolt lightly touched her lord, but he did not move; and she, finding his body cold and without natural heat, called with a great crying for the royal chamberlains, and showed to them her lord and that he was gone the way of all flesh. At the terrible sound of their lamentations all the guards came running to the gates of the palace. They buried him next to Béla, Kadocsa and Keve and other captains of the Huns in the place of which we have already spoken.¹³³

¹³² Mikolt is a fictitious name of Biblical inspiration (1 Sam 18: 20) David's first wife having been called Micol; Bracta features in the *Exordia Scythica* (321). In Jordanes' version the girl is called "Ildico" (*Getica* 49.254, MGH AA 5,1, pp. 123–4; cf. Mierow, pp. 123–4). The description of Attila's death follows the text of Jordanes.

¹³³ Cf. SK ch. 9, pp. 38–39.

19.¹³⁴ Divulgato igitur eius obitu obstupuit totus mundus, et utrum inimici eius lugerent, an gauderent, hesitabant filiorum multitudinem formidantes, qui quasi populi vix poterant numerari. Et credebant aliquem post obitum patris ex filiis regnaturum. Detrici vero ac aliorum principum Alamanorum astutia, quibus rex Atila in collo imperando residebat, Hunorum inpartita communitas in partes diversas est divisa, ita quidem, ut quidam Chabam regis filium ex Grecorum imperatoris, scilicet Honorii filia procreatum,¹³⁵ alii vero Aladarium ex Germanie principissa, scilicet domina Crumheldina procreatum¹³⁶ in regem post Atilam sibi preficere nitebantur. Sanior vero <pars> Hunorum dum Chabe adhe-
sisset, Detricus autem 'et 'extera natio cum paucis Hunis Aladario ambo regnare ceperunt. Dumque alter alteri se preferr<e>^a moliretur, Detrici astutia, qui illo tempore Sicambrie Aladario adhe-
rebat, inter ambos reges tam durum prelium ac forte est commissum, ut per quindecim dies continuos ita Danubium Germanico sanguine inundavit, quod si Teutonici occisionem, que per Hunos facta est diebus memoratis, ob odium non celarent, profecto possent confi-
teri, quod a Siccambria usque Potencianam, nec homines, nec bruta animalia de Danubio aquam puram bibere potuissent.¹³⁷ Istud est illud prelium, quod Huni Crumheld prelium vocant usque in diem istum. In istis itaque preliis semper Chaba et Huni victoriam ha-
buerunt. Postmodum vero Detricus de Verona per traditamentum Chabam fecit superari. Devicerat enim primitus Chaba fratrem suum, sed tandem in ultimo est devictus, ut vix XV milia ex par-

^a preferr<e>] preferri *Ms*

¹³⁴ Cf. SK ch. 19, pp. 67–68.

¹³⁵ The whole chapter is fictitious, with names invented or borrowed from Hungarian oral tradition. Attila tried to arrange a marriage with Honoria, the sister of Valentinian I (364–75), but was rejected. Honorius was emperor of the west Roman Empire 393–423. Honoria III was the daughter of Constantius and Galla Placidia, an elder sister of Valentinianus III (425–455). In 450 Attila was asked for help against Alaric with a promise of marriage (Jord. *Rom.* 328; Jord. *Getica* 42, 223f.; Iohannes Antiochenus fr. 199 in: *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Karl Müller et al., 14: 613–4, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1885), but, when his demand for half of the western empire as a dowry was refused, he invaded Gaul in 451 with a large army (Priscos, as above, ex.15, pp. 56–7; cf. *Chronica minora* 1, 662, 139; 2, 79, 434).

19.¹³⁴ At the news of his decease the world was stupefied, and whether they should grieve or rejoice his enemies did not know, for they dreaded his sons who were in themselves almost a people beyond numbering. They believed that after the father's death one of the sons would reign. But by the cunning of Dietrich and the other German princes, who had found Attila's rule stick in their throats, the undivided community of the Huns was split into divers factions; some wished Attila to be succeeded as king by Csaba, his son by the daughter of Honorius,¹³⁵ the emperor of the Greeks, while others favored Aladár, his son by the lady Krimhild, a princess of Germany.¹³⁶ Both began to reign, the more prudent among the Huns holding to Csaba, while Aladár was supported by Dietrich, other peoples, and a few of the Huns. Each strove to gain the mastery, and by the astuteness of Dietrich, who was at that time in Sicambria as adherent of Aladár, battle was joined between them. It was so hard and fierce that for fifteen days the Danube ran with German blood, and if by reason of their hatred the Germans had not concealed the slaughter wrought in these days by the Huns, they would have had to confess that from Sicambria as far as Potenciana neither man nor brute beast could drink clear water from the Danube.¹³⁷ That is the battle which the Huns call the battle of Krimhild up to this day. In the fighting Csaba and the Huns always held the upper hand. Yet by treachery Dietrich of Verona brought about their defeat. For at first Csaba pressed his brother hard, but in the end he was himself vanquished, and of his men there remained hardly fifteen thousand, the rest of the Huns and the sons

¹³⁶ Krimhild features as Attila's second wife (and her second husband) in the *Nibelungenlied*. A placename in a charter referring to a "bath of Krimhild" in Óbuda retained her memory, see *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár* [Diplomatarium for the age of Sigismund]. Elemér Mályusz *et al.* eds., Vol. 1 No. 1178, p. 145, 1389 October 29 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951).

¹³⁷ For a literary parallel, see e.g., Publius Baebius Italicus, *Ilias Latina*, a short Latin hexameter version of the *Iliad* of Homer. in *Poetae Latini Minores: Satirica, Elegiaca, Lyrica, et Alia Quaedam Carmina*, Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, ed., p. 582 (Paris: Didot, 1824).

te Chabe remanerent, aliis Hunis et filiis Atyle totaliter deletis et occisis. Mortuo itaque Atila tam filii sui quam Huni inter se sunt necati.

20.¹³⁸ Devictus itaque Chaba et germani sui, filii Atile regis, qui ei as<ti>terant^a ex adverso, numero sexaginta cum quindecim milibus Hunorum ad Honorium avunculum suum fugisse perhibetur. [19] Et quamvis Honorius imperator Grecorum incolam Grecie eum facere voluisset, illo renniente remanere, paternam sedem, videlicet Scythiam moraturus repetivit. Manserat namque Chaba in Grecia cum Honorio annis XIII, sed rediit in Scythiam anno uno propter viarum discrimina et difficultatem pass<a>giorum^b. Hic autem in Scytiam paternam scilicet sedem adiundo uxorem de Scytia non accepit, sed traduxit de Corosmenia¹³⁹ de consilio Bendekez avi sui, quem sanum, sed nimis decrepitem dicitur invenisse. Ex ista quidem uxore sua genuit Edemen et Ed.¹⁴⁰ Hic igitur Chaba suo amonitu redire fecit Sciticos iterum in Pannoniam.

21.¹⁴¹ Remanserant autem ex Hunis virorum tria milia, qui per fuge interfugium erepti de prelio Crumheldino in campum Chiglamezei se colligere procurarunt. Qui cum timerent occidentis nationes, ne eos invaderent ex obrupto, ad Erdeew intraverunt, non se Hungaros, sed Zekul alio nomine vocaverunt.¹⁴² In vita quidem Atyle infesti fuerant ipsi Huni occidentali nation<i>^c. Isti etenim Zekuli Hunorum sunt residui, usque ad alium^d Hungarorum redi-

^a as<ti>terant] assisterant *Ms*

^b pass<a>giorum] passigiorum *Ms*

^c nation<i>] natione *Ms*

^d alium] aliorum *Ms*

¹³⁸ Cf. SK ch. 20, p. 70.

¹³⁹ Chorasminians mean here Muslims, as there lived a Muslim population in medieval Hungary, and some of them held important position in the royal administration; see Berend, *At the Gate*, pp. 64–8 and passim.

¹⁴⁰ Fictitious persons; these names appear also in Anon. chs. 8–10, pp. 23, 29, but not as Csaba's sons.

of Attila being completely wiped out and killed. Thus after Attila's death the sons of Attila and the Huns killed each other in mutual slaughter.

20.¹³⁸ Csaba and his brothers, the sixty sons of Attila who had stood at his side against his adversaries, are said to have fled after his defeat with fifteen thousand Huns to his uncle Honorius. And although Honorius, emperor of the Greeks, desired him to make his abode in Greece, he would not stay but returned to dwell in his native land of Scythia. For thirteen years Csaba remained in Greece with Honorius, and then journeying for one year because of the dangers and difficulties of the way he came back to Scythia. Having returned to his father's seat, he chose a wife not of the country of Scythia but of Choresm,¹³⁹ according to the advice of his grandfather Bendegúz, whom he is said to have found sound of mind but exceedingly decrepit. By this wife he had Edemen and Ed.¹⁴⁰ With his counsel Csaba persuaded the Scythians to return again to Pannonia.

21.¹⁴¹ Of the Huns three thousand men remained who had escaped by flight from the battle of Krimhild and had mustered on the field of Csigla. Fearing lest the nations of the West should suddenly attack them, they removed to Transylvania, where they did not call themselves Hungarians, but by another name, which was Székely.¹⁴² For during Attila's lifetime the Huns were hated by the western nations. These Székely were all that remained of the Huns until the return of those other Hungarians who had assembled on the aforesaid field. When therefore they learned of the return of the Hungarians to Pannonia, they went forth as far

¹⁴¹ Cf. SK. ch. 21, notes to pp. 71–72.

¹⁴² The Latin *Erdeľw* reflects the Hungarian Erdély (in Anon. *Erdeuclu*, p. 32 but also *terra Ultrasilvana*, p. 58), all meaning 'beyond the forest', cf. Romanian Ardeal. The Székely borderguards in the valleys of Transylvania were held to be the people of Attila already in the thirteenth century; see Anon. ch. 50, p. 109.

tum in campo prefato conmorantes. Dum ergo Hungaros iterato in Pannoniam redire cognovissent, in Rutheniam eis occurrerunt, conquestrantes simul Pannonie regionem. Qua quidem conquestrata in eadem sorte remanserunt, ut tamen Hungari voluerunt non in plano Pannonie, sed cum Vlachis in montibus confinii sortem habuerunt. Unde Vlachis conmixti litteris ipsorum uti perhibentur. Isti namque Zekuli Chabam in Grecia perisse putaverunt. Unde vulgus adhuc loquitur in communi: Tunc redire debeas, quando Chaba de Grecia revertitur.¹⁴³

22.¹⁴⁴ Iste igitur Chaba filius Atyle est legitimus ex filia Honorii imperatoris Grecorum genitus, cui Edemen et Ed filii sunt vocati. Edemen autem cum Ungari in Pannoniam secundario sunt reversi, cum maxima familia patris sui et matris introivit. Nam mater eius de Corosmenis orta erat. Ed vero in Scithia mansit apud patrem. Ex isto enim Chaba generatio Abe est egressa.¹⁴⁵ Cum igitur Chaba adiens in Scithiam nobilitate genitricis in communi se iactaret,^a Hunorum nobilitas [20] ipsum contempnebat asserentes eum non verum esse alumpnum regni Scitie, sed quasi missitalium extere nationis, propter quod ex Scytia uxorem non accepit, sed traduxit de gente Corosmina.

23.¹⁴⁶ Postquam autem filii Athyle in prelio Crumhelt cum gente Scytica fere quasi deperissent, Pannonia extitit decem annis sine rege, Sclavis tantummodo, Grecis, Vlachis, Teutonicis advenis, Messianis remanentibus in eadem, qui vivente Atyla populari servitio sibi serviebant. Surrexit post hec quidam princeps Zuatapolug nomine Moroti filius in Polonia,¹⁴⁷ qui Bracta subiugando Bulgaris

^a iactaret] iactarent *Ms*

¹⁴³ On the Csaba legend see Zoltán Kordé, “Über die Herkunft der Szekler”, in: *Die Szekler in Siebenbürgen. Von der privilegierten Sondergemeinschaft zur ethnischen Gruppe*. Harald Roth, ed., pp. 90–107 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2009).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. SK ch. 22, pp. 72–73. The repetition of elements of Csaba’s story here point to the chronicler’s having used different older texts in the compilation.

¹⁴⁵ Cf SK 22, p. 73. The aristocratic kindred Aba (to which King Samuel—see below, chs. 72–6, pp. 134–43—belonged) may have been part of the Kabar tribes; they

as Ruthenia to meet them, conquering together with them the region of Pannonia. When the conquest was completed, they also obtained a share of the land, but by the desire of the Hungarians, they took up their abode not in the Pannonian lowlands, but among the mountains on the border together with the Vlachs. Whence they became mingled with the Vlachs, and are said to have used their writing. The Székely believed that Csaba had perished in Greece, whence comes the common saying still current among the people: "Come home when Csaba is back from Greece."¹⁴³

22.¹⁴⁴ That Csaba was a legitimate son of Attila by the daughter of Honorius, emperor of the Greeks, and Edemen and Ed were his sons. On the second return of the Hungarians to Pannonia, Edemen brought with him into the country large numbers of his kindred on his father's and mother's side. His mother came from the Chorasmians. Ed remained in Scythia with his father. From Csaba springs the kindred of Aba.¹⁴⁵ When after his return to Scythia Csaba boasted openly about the nobility of his mother, the Hun nobles heard him with scorn, declaring that he was not a true son of the kingdom of Scythia but no more than a bastard from a foreign land, for he had not taken a wife from Scythia but had married a woman of the Chorasmians.

23.¹⁴⁶ After Attila's sons and with them the Scythian people had been almost wiped out in the battle of Krimhild, Pannonia was for ten years without a king and within its borders there remained only Slavs, Greeks, Vlachs, German newcomers and Moravians who in Attila's lifetime performed the services of common slaves. After this time there arose a certain duke, Svatopluk by name, the son of Marót in Poland,¹⁴⁷ who after his subjugation of Bac-

held a property called "the field of Csaba"; this may have been the reason for the assumed connection.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. SK ch. 23, pp. 74–76.

¹⁴⁷ Svatopluk was indeed duke of Moravia 870–94. His association with Poland may have originated from the last syllables of the form Zvatapolug/Sventapolug. Marót, however meant in old Hungarian 'Moravian.'

Messianisque imperabat, incipiens similiter in Pannonia dominari post Hunorum exterminium. Hunc quidam Hungari de Erdelw et de fluvio Hung variis muneribus allectum et nunciis explorantes, considerata illius militia inmunita, ipsum Zuatapolug irruptione subita in qu<o>dam^a oppido circa Pontem Bani iuxta Tatam, cuius opidi adhuc apparet interruptio,¹⁴⁸ cum tota militia peremerunt et sic populis Pannonie memoratis, quos Moroti filius dilatando adauxerat, incepterunt dominari. Tradunt quidam,¹⁴⁹ quod Hungari Morot, non Zuatapolug in secundo eorum reditu in Pannonia reperissent principantem. Hoc idcirco esse habet, quia Moroth pater eius nomine maior erat, sed confectus senio repausabat in castro, quod Besprem nominatur. Audito infortunio, quod filio acciderat, morte subita ob dolorem finivit vitam suam. Filius vero in dominando novus erat.

24. Huni autem applicuerunt fluvio Tyscie et de Tyscia egressi quinto anno a prelio Kesumayr usque regnum Atile annus fluxit unus. Regnavit autem Atyla annis quadraginta quatuor, ducatum tenuit quinque annis, vixit autem centum viginti quatuor annis. Mortuus est autem post ingressum Hungarorum in Pannoniam anno LXX-o II-o, ab incarnatione autem Domini anno quadringentesimo XL-o V-o tempore imperatoris Marciani secundi et pape Gelasii primi.¹⁵⁰ Nocte autem illa, qua Atyla mortuus est in Siccambria, vidit Marcianus imperator in sompnis arcum Atyle fractum,¹⁵¹ ex hoc intelligens ipsum esse mortuum, qui tunc Constantinopolim morabatur.

^a qu<o>dam] quadam *Ms*

¹⁴⁸ There were Roman ruins in present-day Környe, ancient Vincentia.

¹⁴⁹ Marót features in Anon. (ch. 11, p. 33) as the grandfather of Ménmarót, one of the major lords opposing the entering Hungarians. The present version originates with Simon who may have known that in fact Svatopluk was the major opponent of the Magyars entering the Carpathian Basin.

tra ruled over the Bulgars and the Moravians and began also to rule in Pannonia after the extermination of the Huns. The Hungarians from Transylvania and around the river Ung enticed him with divers gifts, and after their scouts had discovered the weakness of his army they suddenly fell upon him in a small town in the neighborhood of Bánhida near Tata, the remnants of which town are still to be seen,¹⁴⁸ and destroyed Svatopluk with all his army; thus their dominion in Pannonia began over the aforesaid people whose number the son of Marót expanded and increased. Some say¹⁴⁹ that it was not Svatopluk whom on their second return the Hungarians found ruling in Pannonia, but Marót. That could be because Marót, the father, bore the more famous name, but he was at that time worn out with years and had withdrawn into his castle, which was called Veszprém. When he heard of the fate which had befallen his son, sorrow put a sudden end to his life. His son was new in government.

24. The Huns reached the river Tisza, then, departed from the river Tisza in the fifth year; between the battle of Zeiselmayer and the beginning of Attila's reign one year passed. Attila reigned for forty-four years; for five years he held ducal power; he lived one hundred and twenty-four years. He died in the seventy-second year after the entry of the Hungarians into Pannonia and in the four hundred and forty-fifth year after the Lord's incarnation, in the time of the Emperor Marcianus II and the Pope Gelasius I.¹⁵⁰ In the same night in which Attila died in Sicambria, the Emperor Marcianus, who was at this time in Constantinople, saw in a dream Attila's bow broken,¹⁵¹ from which he understood that Attila himself was dead.

¹⁵⁰ The dates don't quite match: while Marcianus was emperor 450–7, Gelasius I was pope 492–6, and Attila died in 453 and not in 445.

¹⁵¹ The emperor's vision is also reported in the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* of Martin of Troppau/Martinus Polonus, MGH SS 22, p. 454.

EXPLICIT PRIMA CRONICA HUNGARORUM

IN[21]CIPIT PROLOGUS DE SECUNDO INGRESSU ET DE CASIBUS PROSPERIS ET ADVERSIS EORUNDEM



25.^{152, 153} <Digestis>^a igitur Hunorum natalibus, preliis felicibus et sinistris, quotiensque eorum loca inmutaverunt, videndum nunc est, quo tempore in Pannoniam redierunt iterato, quique redeuntium fuerunt capitanei, quantusque numerus armatorum in exercitu, apponere in presenti opusculo dignum duxi.

26.¹⁵⁴ Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo LXX-o VII-o, a morte vero Atyle regis Hungarorum anno centesimo quarto, tempore Constantini imperatoris tertii et Zacharie pape, sicut scribitur in cronica Romanorum,¹⁵⁵ Hungari de Scythia secundo

HERE ENDS THE FIRST CHRONICLE OF THE HUNGARIANS.

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE ON THEIR SECOND ENTRY AND THEIR GOOD AND BAD FORTUNES

25.^{152, 153} [Having related] the origins of the Huns, their victories and defeats in battle, and how often they changed their places of habitation, it is now to be seen when it was that they entered Pannonia for the second time and I have thought it fitting to tell in this small work, who were the captains of the returning people, and how great was the number of the men in their army.

26.¹⁵⁴ In the six hundred and seventy-seventh year after the Lord's incarnation, and the hundred and fourth year after the death of Attila, the king of the Hungarians, in the time of the Emperor Constantine III and Pope Zachary, as is written in the chronicle of the Romans,¹⁵⁵ the Hungarians went forth for the second time from Scythia. This happened in this way that in Scythia a son was

^a <Digestis>] *De gestis Ms*

¹⁵² Cf. SK ch. 24, p. 77.

¹⁵³ Inh. in.: Full figure in golden coat armor with ducal crown and spear; shield with bird at his feet (Elöd?).

¹⁵⁴ Inh. in.: Full figure with crowned helmet in red coat armor and sword (Álmos?) holding shield with bird.

¹⁵⁵ The date is not mentioned anywhere else and is, of course, at least two hundred years off the mark. Emperor Constantine III (643–71) and Pope Zachary (741–51) were not contemporaries; Constantine V (741–75), however, was; he may have been listed in the original version. The “chronicle of the Romans” may refer to any widely read narrative, such as the *Chronicon* of Martin of Troppau (as above), but Hungarians are not mentioned in connection with either emperor.

egressi sunt hoc modo, [22] quod Eleud filius Vgeg ex filia Eunodbilia in Scytia genuit filium, qui nominatur Almus¹⁵⁶ ab eventu, quia mat<ri>^a eius in sompno innotuerat avis quasi in forma austuris¹⁵⁷ veniens, dum esset gravida, et quod de utero eius egrediretur torrens ac in terra non sua multiplicaretur. Ideoque factum fuit, quod de lumbis eius¹⁵⁸ gloriosi reges propagarentur.¹⁵⁹ Quia vero sompnium in lingua nostra dicitur alm, et illius ortus per sompnium fuit prenosticatus, ideo ipse vocatus est Almus, qui fuit Eleud, qui fuit Vgeg, qui fuit Ed, qui fuit Chaba, qui fuit Ethele, qui fuit Bendekus, qui fuit Turda, qui fuit Scemen, qui fuit Ethei, qui fuit Opus, qui fuit Kadicha, qui fuit Berend, qui fuit Zulta, qui fuit Bulchu, qui fuit Bolug, qui fuit Zambur, qui fuit Zamur, qui fuit Leel, qui fuit Levente, qui fuit Kulche, qui fuit Ompud, qui fuit Miske, qui fuit Mike, qui fuit Beztur, qui fuit Budli, qui fuit Chanad, qui fuit Buken, qui fuit Boudofard, qui fuit Farkas, qui fuit Othmar, qui fuit Kadar, qui fuit Beler, qui fuit Kear, qui fuit Keve, qui fuit Keled, qui fuit Dama, qui fuit Bor, qui fuit Hunor, qui fuit Nemproth, qui fuit Thana, qui fuit Iaphet, qui fuit Noe.¹⁶⁰ Almus genuit Arpad, Arpad genuit Zoltan, Zoltan genuit Toxun.¹⁶¹ Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vel

^a mat<ri> var. *Mss*] mater *Ms*

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Anon. ch. 3, pp. 13–4. Előd means in Hungarian ‘ancestor.’ Ügyek may be connected with old Magyar *ügy*, ‘holy, sacred,’ and; more on him in János Szabó and Balázs Sudár, *Vgek-ügyek: Egy elfeledett ősapa* [VyeK-matters: A forgotten ancestor] in: *Hadak Útján* XXIV. Vol. 2. Csilla Balogh, Balázs Major eds., pp. 223–231. (Budapest–Esztergom: Archaeolingua, 2017). A historical person, Üge, the last Uighur prince, died 846, see Michael A. Dromp, *Tang China and the collapse of the Uighur Empire*, pp. 54, 155 (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Eunodbilia is connected in Anon. with a fictive prince whose daughter married Előd. Álmos seems to have been a historical person, mentioned in the DAI (38. 173) as leader of the Magyars.

¹⁵⁷ The dream and the etymology of the name is also contained, with minor variant in Anon., as above.

¹⁵⁸ A similar phrase is in Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum* 1.10 (*The History of the Danes*, Hilda Ellis Davidson ed., Peter Fischer, trans., Cambridge: Brewer, 1979–80, 1: 14); cf. Gen 35: 11. The metaphor of torrent was used by Herodotos (I. 107–8) for the birth of Cyrus.

¹⁵⁹ In Anon. (as above) the prophesy refers to “holy” (*sancti*) kings, the usual form of reference to King Stephen and his successors in Hungarian tradition. It is puzzling why our chronicler did not use this epithet.

born to Előd, who was the son of Űgyek, by Eunodbilia; and he was given the name of Álmos.¹⁵⁶ For when his mother was big with child, she dreamt that a bird flew towards her which had the likeness of a hawk,¹⁵⁷ and that from her womb a torrent gushed forth and spread itself in a land other than hers. And so it happened that renowned kings¹⁵⁸ were to be born from his loins.¹⁵⁹ Because in our language a dream is called *álom*, and since the birth of this child was foretold in a dream, he was called Álmos, who was the son of Előd, who was the son of Űgyek, who was the son of Ed, who was the son of Csaba, who was the son of Attila, who was the son of Bendegúz, who was the son of Torda, who was the son of Szemény, who was the son of Etel, who was the son of Opos, who was the son of Kadocsa, who was the son of Berend, who was the son of Zolta, who was the son of Bulcsú, who was the son of Balog, who was the son of Zombor, who was the son of Zamor, who was the son of Lél, who was the son of Levente, who was the son of Kölcsé, who was the son of Ompud, who was the son of Miske, who was the son of Mike, who was the son of Beztur, who was the son of Bodli, who was the son of Csanád, who was the son of Bökény, who was the son of Bondofurd, who was the son of Farkas, who was the son of Othmar, who was the son of Kádár, who was the son of Belér, who was the son of Kear, who was the son of Keve, who was the son of Keled, who was the son of Dama, who was the son of Bor, who was the son of Hunor, who was the son of Nimrod, who was the son of Thana, who was the son of Japheth, who was the son of Noah.¹⁶⁰ Álmos begot Árpád, Árpád begot Zoltán, and Zoltán begot Taksony.¹⁶¹ Thus in the six hundred and seventy-seventh year after the Lord's incarnation¹⁶² and in the hundredth

¹⁶⁰ This whole genealogy is fictitious and in parts contradictory to the one in ch. 4 above (pp. 12–3). The names mentioned are a mixture of Biblical ones, Hungarians of unknown origin and a few of persons known from the ninth century (such as Bulcsú, see below, pp. 76–7). The source of this extensive list, similar to Biblical genealogies, is not known, but betrays our chronicler's compiling his text from partly unknown models.

¹⁶¹ These three persons are known from the DAI (as above, n. 156, p. 62) and elsewhere as dukes of the Magyars in the ninth-tenth centuries.

sexingentesimo septuagesimo septimo,¹⁶² a morte vero Atile regis anno centesimo vulgariter Magori sive Huni, Latine vero Ungari tempore Constantini tertii imperatoris et Zacharie pape denuo ingressi sunt Pannoniam. Transeuntes igitur per regnum Bessorum, Alborum Cumanorum, Susdaliā et civitatem Kyo nominatam,¹⁶³ deinde transierunt Alpes¹⁶⁴ in quandam provinciam, ubi viderunt aquilas innumerabiles,¹⁶⁵ et ibi propter aquilas illas manere non potuerunt, quia de arboribus tamquam musce descendebant aquile et consummebant devorando pecora eorum et equos. Volebat enim Deus, ut citius descenderent in Hungariam. Exinde montes descenderunt per tres menses et devenerunt in confinium regni Hungarie, scilicet in Erdelw invitis gentibus memoratis.¹⁶⁶ Ibique terreis castris septem preparatis pro [23] uxoribus et rebus suis conservandis aliquamdiu permanserunt. Quapropter Teutonici partem illam ab illo die Simburg, id est septem castra vocaverunt.¹⁶⁷

27. DE SEPTEM CAPITANEIS ELECTIS¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁹Cumque in eisdem castris permanerent, irruptionem circumquaque iacentium dominorum formidantes deliberato comuni consi-

¹⁶² On the date, see above n. 155 on p. 62. SK (ch. 25, p. 77) has a more realistic one: 872 A.D.

¹⁶³ Russian sources (e.g. the *Povest' vremennykh let* [PVL] ch. 26) give the date of the Hungarians passing Kiev as 898 A.D.; see *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Samuel H. Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor ed. & trans. p. 147 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930).

¹⁶⁴ The chronicler must have been familiar from the literature with the Alps, that's why he called the the Carpathian Mountains thus, just as Otto of Freising called the Alps, following literary models (such as Isidore), Pyrenees (see e.g. *Gesta Frederici imperatoris*, II, 14, SSrG 46, pp. 114, 115, cf. *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, Charles C. Mierow, trans. pp. 125–126, New York: Norton, 1966).

¹⁶⁵ The eagle incident may be a distorted (or disguised) tradition of the Pecheneg attack on the Hungarian settlement east of the Carpathian Mountains in ca. 895. Pecheneg is *besenyő* in Hungarian and *bese* is the word for a kind of eagle; this may have been the origin of this construct.

¹⁶⁶ The formulation recalls the passage above ch. 6, p. 16 about Scythia, but it is unclear, which people are meant as "aforesaid" considering that the Magyars

year after the death of King Attila, in the time of Constantine III and Pope Zacharias, the Magyars as they are commonly called or the Huns, or in the Latin language the Hungarians, entered Pannonia for a second time. Passing through the kingdom of the Pechenegs and the White Cumans and Suzdal' and the city named Kiev,¹⁶³ they crossed the Alps¹⁶⁴ and came into a region where they saw innumerable eagles;¹⁶⁵ and because of the eagles they could not stay in that place, for the eagles came down from the trees like flies and devoured both their herds and their horses. For God intended that they should go down more quickly into Hungary. During three months they made their descent from the mountains, and they came to the boundaries of the kingdom of Hungary, that is to Transylvania, against the will of the aforesaid peoples.¹⁶⁶ There they remained for some time, having prepared seven earthworks for the protection of their wives and of their belongings. Wherefore from that time on the Germans called the place *Siebenbürgen* which is to say "seven castles."¹⁶⁷

27. THE SEVEN CHOSEN CAPTAINS¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁹During their stay in these strongholds they were afraid that the lords of the neighboring lands might fall upon them, there-

are described as having been opposed by the inhabitants west of the Carpathians.

¹⁶⁷ The translation is correct, though originally it comes from the name of the Transylvanian German city Szeben (Hermannstadt, today Sibiu). Another explanation for this number is that Transylvania had seven counties.

¹⁶⁸ The number seven is recorded elsewhere, too, however, for seven tribes in DAI (38.171) and seven "principal persons" in Anon. (p. 21 and passim). Anon. called the ancient Magyars as a people, "Hetumoger," which may go back to *hét magyar*, 'seven Hungarians.' Such types of names for peoples are well known on the steppe, e.g. the name of the Onogurs (a population to which the ancient Hungarians belonged for a while) means 'ten Ogurs.' Simon (ch. 26, pp. 78–79) wrote about seven hosts.

¹⁶⁹ Inh. in.: Seven persons with princely headgear; the one in front (Árpád) holding a shield with bird.

lio¹⁷⁰ septem capitaneos inter se prefecerunt, et in septem exercitus sunt divisi ita, ut unusquisque exercitus unum haberet capitaneum sine centurionibus et decanis^a c<on>sueto modo positis.^{b,171} Unus namque exercitus habebat tria milia virorum armatorum sine centumviris. Ex centum itaque tribubus et octo in secundo egressu de Scytia de qualibet tribu duo milia virorum armatorum sunt egressi familiarum numero non apposito.¹⁷²

28. PRIMUS CAPITANEUS¹⁷³

¹⁷⁴Fuerat autem ex istis capitaneis ditior et potentior Arpad, filius Almus, filii Eleu<d>, filii Ugeg. Huius autem pater Almus in patria Erdelw occisus est, non enim potuit in Pannoniam introire.¹⁷⁵ In Erdelw igitur quieverunt et pecora sua recreaverunt. Audientes autem terre utilitatem de habitatoribus, quod optimus fluvius esset Danubius et melior terra in mundo non esset partibus illis, accepto itaque communi consilio miserunt nuncium nomine Kusid, filium Kund, ut iret et totam terram prospiceret, habitatoresque terre agnosceret. Cum ergo Kusid venisset in medium Ungarie et circa partes Danubii descendisset, vidit locum amenum et circumqua-

^a decanis *Ms*] cf. decurionibus *SK*.

^b positis] positivis *Ms*

¹⁷⁰ Here and frequently below the reference to “common counsel” rhymes well with the description of the power of the community, ch. 7, pp. 24–5, above.

¹⁷¹ The author may have taken the notion of centurions and decurions (here called deans) from *SK* (ch. 26, p.79) to which there are references in early medieval Hungarian laws (Ladislas 3:1 and Coloman 79, *DRMH* 1: pp. 16, 31), see György Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn um die Jahrtausendwende*, pp. 93–101 (Vienna &c: Böhlau, 1983). Such systems are known from several societies (see *ibid.* p. 208).

¹⁷² The number of the Hungarians at the time of their arrival in the Carpathian Basin has been estimated at figures as diverse as 70 to 500 thousand; see László Veszprémy, “Hungary – a Historical Overview” in: *Europe’s Centre around 1000*, Alfred Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz eds., p. 356 (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000).

fore, they appointed seven captains by common counsel¹⁷⁰ and divided themselves into seven armies with one captain for each army, not counting the customarily appointed centurions and decurions.¹⁷¹ Every army had three thousand armed men without the centurions. So when they left Scythia for the second time, they numbered two thousand armed men from each of the hundred and eight tribes not counting their families.¹⁷²

28. THE FIRST CAPTAIN¹⁷³

¹⁷⁴Among these captains one of greater wealth and power was Árpád, the son of Álmos, who was the son of Előd, who was the son of Ügyek. Álmos, his father, could not enter Pannonia, for he was killed in the land of Transylvania.¹⁷⁵ They therefore remained quietly in Transylvania and rested their herds. Hearing from its inhabitants the advantages of the land, that the Danube was the best of all rivers, and that there was no better land in the entire world than these parts, they sent by common counsel a messenger, Kusid by name, the son of Kund, to survey all the land and find out about its inhabitants. When Kusid reached the middle of Hungary and had come down into the region of the Danube, he saw a fair country, with good and fertile land all around, and a good river flowing through rich meadows; and the sight pleased him. Then he came to the duke of the region, who

¹⁷³ Cf. SK ch. 27, p. 80. The seven captains are in very similar way described in SK; for more details, see the notes there pp. 81–7.

¹⁷⁴ Inh. in: Half figure in golden coat armor, princely headgear and sword (Árpád), holding shield with bird.

¹⁷⁵ This enigmatic sentence (not in Anon. nor in SK) may hint at a ritual murder of a chief who failed to defend his people from the enemies (Pechenegs). Such practices known, among others, for the Khazars, see Peter B. Golden, “Sacral Kingship Among the Khazars,” in: *Pre-Modern Russia and Its World. Essays in Honor of Thomas S. Noonan*, Kathryn L. Reversen et al. eds., pp. 79–102 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006). A biblical parallel would be Moses who was not allowed to enter the Promised Land (Deut 34: 4).

que terram bonam ac fertilem, fluvium bonum et pratosum, placuit ei. Deinde venit ad ducem provincie, qui regnabat post Atilam, vocatum Zuatapolug, salutavitque eum de suis et causam, pro qua venerat, manifestavit.¹⁷⁶ Hec audiens Zuatapolug *gavisus* est *gaudio magno*,¹⁷⁷ putabat enim illos esse rusticos, ut venirent et terram eius colerent; propter hoc nuncium delicatum remisit. Kusid autem de aqua Danubii lagenam implens et herbam periarum ponens in utrem et de terra nigri sabuli accipiens, ad suos reversus est. Cumque narras[24]set omnia, que audierat et viderat, valde placuit eis, et lagenam aque, terram et herbam eis presentavit. De quibus ipsi sapiendo bene cognoverunt, quod terra optima sit et aquam habebat^a dulcem et pratum cum herbis similibusque nuncius eis recitavit.¹⁷⁸ Arpad vero cum suis de aqua Danubii cornu implens et ante omnes Hungaros super illud cornu omnipotentis Dei clementiam rogavit, ut Dominus eis terram in perpetuum concederet. Finitis hiis verbis omnes Hungari clamaverunt: Deus! Deus! Deus!^b tribus vicibus.¹⁷⁹ Et ibi inventus est usus iste et servatur apud Hungaros usque modo. Deinde communi consilio ad predictum ducem eundem nuncium remiserunt et ei equum magnum cum sella deaurata auro Arabie et freno deaurato miserunt pro terra sua. Quo viso dux ipse magis gavisus putabat, quod ei pro terra quadam hospitala<gia>^c misissent.¹⁸⁰ Nuncius ergo impetra-

^a habeat *var. Mss*] habebat *Ms*

^b *Tribus vocibus linea subductis et in margine litteris Arabicis manu XVI saeculi* Nota diligenter et *infra*

^c hospitala<gia>] hospitalarii *Ms*

¹⁷⁶ The acquisition of the country “by exchange”—hinted at in Anon. ch. 14, p. 41 and more tangentially by Simon (ch. 23, p. 75)—has parallels in several other sources. Widukind (1: 5–6 MGH SSrG 60, pp. 6–7), told about the Saxons acquiring their country by deceit: a Saxon youth purchased dust from Thuringia for gold, sprinkled the dust around the perimeter of a certain piece of land and, regarding it as his own, took it by force. Jordanes (*Getica* ch. 5. MGH AA 5,1, p. 63.), recorded a similar ploy by which the Onogurs acquired land through the purchase of a horse. The symbolic meaning of land, water and grass appears also in a peace treaty between the Bulgarian Khan Omurtag and Byzantine Emperor Leo V the Armenian in 815; see *Nicephori Opuscula historica*, C. de Boor, ed., pp. 206–207 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1880).

reigned after Attila and whose name was Svatopluk, and saluted him in the name of his people and declared to him the reason of his coming.¹⁷⁶ On hearing this, Svatopluk *rejoiced with great joy*,¹⁷⁷ for he thought that they were peasant people who would come and till his land; and so he dismissed the messenger graciously. But Kusid filled a flask with water from the Danube, put grass and sods of black earth in his shoulder bag, and went back to his people. He related to them all that he had heard and seen, they were greatly pleased and he gave to them the flask of water and the soil and the grass, and. Having sampled them, they perceived that the earth was excellent with sweet water and meadows that had such grass as the messenger had said.¹⁷⁸ Then Árpád filled his horn with the water of the Danube and holding it on high before all the Hungarians he besought the almighty God that in His gracious kindness He would grant to them this land to hold for ever. After these words all the Hungarians shouted thrice “God, God, God!”¹⁷⁹ This was the beginning of the custom which the Hungarians have observed until this day. Then by a common resolve they dispatched the same messenger again to the said leader and sent to him for his land a big horse with a golden saddle adorned with the gold of Arabia and a golden bridle. Seeing it, the duke rejoiced all the more, thinking that they were sending [gifts] as settlers¹⁸⁰ in return for land. When therefore the mes-

¹⁷⁷ Mt. 2: 10 and elsewhere; also below, several times (ch. 88, pp. 165–6; 139, pp. 260–1; 153, pp. 284–5; and 157, pp. 292–3).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the parallel of the report on the Promised Land brought to the Hebrews in Num 13: 1–29.

¹⁷⁹ Note the notion that a “deistic” battle cry of the Hungarians is credited to the pagan Magyars, cf. above Veszprémy, “More paganismo,” n. 6 on p. 4.

¹⁸⁰ This term—not used otherwise—may refer to some kind of payment by settlers; for this form, see Suzanne Fleischman, *Cultural and Linguistic Factors in Word Formation: An Integrated Approach to the Development of the Suffix-age* pp. 110–1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). The word *hospes*, ‘guest, settler’ was used in medieval Hungary for foreign (and late also domestic) peasants and townsmen who enjoyed a privileged status, see Erik Fügedi, “Das mittelalterliche Königreich Ungarn als Gastland”, in: Idem, *Kings, bishops, nobles and burghers in medieval Hungary. Collected Studies*, J. M. Bak, ed., ch. VIII (London: Variorum, 1986).

vit ibi a duce terram, herbam et aquam. Dux vero subridens ait: Habeant quantumcumque volunt pro hoc munere! Et sic nuncius ad suos reversus est. Arpad autem interim cum VII ducibus Pannoniam intravit, non sicut hospites, sed sicut terram iure hereditario possidentes.¹⁸¹ Tunc nuncium alium ad ducem miserunt et ei hanc legationem mandaverunt: Arpad cum suis tibi dicit, quod super ista terra, quam a te emerunt, diutius nullo modo stes, quia terram tuam cum equo emerunt, herbam cum freno, aquam cum sella. Et tu propter emphiteosim,¹⁸² id est inopiam et cupiditatem, terram, herbam et aquam concessisti. Cumque duci dicta esset legatio, subridens dixit: Equum illum malleo ligneo interficiant, frenum autem in pratum proiciant, sellam vero deauratam in aquam Danubii abiciant. Cui nuncius: Et inde, domine, quid dampni habebunt? Si equum interficis, canibus suis victualia dabis, si frenum in herbam proicies, homines sui, qui fenum falcant, aurum freni inveniunt, si vero sellam in Danubium abicis, piscatores illius aurum selle super litus exponunt atque domum reportabunt. Si ergo terram, herbam et aquam habent, totum habent. Dux ergo ille hiis auditis exercitum cito congregavit timens Ungaros et auxilium ab amicis impetravit et omnibus coadu[25]natis eis obviam venit. Illi autem interdum prope Danubium pervenerunt et in campo pulcherrimo summo diluculo pugnam inierunt. Fuit autem auxilium Domini cum Hungaris, a quorum facie dux sepedictus se in fugam convertit. Persecuti suntque eum Hungari usque Danubium et ibi pre timore in Danubium se iactavit, in quo pre aquarum vehementia suffocatur. Retradidit autem Dominus Hungaris Pannoniam, sicut tradiderat filii<s> tempore Moysi *terram Seon regis Amorreorum et*

¹⁸¹ The “double claim” (purchase and inheritance), sounds contradictory to the modern mind, but was no rarity in the Middle Ages.

¹⁸² In civil and canon law (Cod. Iust. 4.66.1 and Decr. Gratiani 2,10,2,2) the name of a contract by which the owner of an uncultivated piece of land granted it to another, either in perpetuity, or for a long time, on condition that he should improve it; see: István Kapitányffy, “Römisch-rechtliche und kanonistische Termini

senger asked of him land, grass and water, he replied with a smile, "In return for this gift let them have as much as they desire." And with this answer the messenger returned to his people. In the meantime Árpád entered Pannonia with the seven leaders, not as settlers, but as owners of the land by hereditary right.¹⁸¹ Then they sent another messenger to the leader and this was the message which he delivered: "Árpád and his people say to you that you may no longer stay upon the land which they bought from you, for with the horse they bought your earth, with the bridle the grass, and with the saddle the water. And you, because of emphyteosis,¹⁸² that is, of need and avarice, granted them land, grass, and water." When this message was delivered to the leader, he said with a smile: "Let them kill the horse with a wooden mallet, toss the bridle on the field, and throw the golden saddle into the water of the Danube." To which the messenger replied: "And what loss will that be to them, sir? If you kill the horse, you will give food for their dogs; if you toss the bridle on the field, their men will find the gold of the bridle when they mow the hay; if you throw the saddle into the Danube, their fishermen will lay out the gold of the saddle upon the bank and carry it home. For if they have earth, grass and water, they have all." On hearing this, the duke became afraid of the Hungarians; he quickly gathered an army and asked help of his friends, and with all their united strength he went out to meet them. Meanwhile the Hungarians had reached the Danube, and on a field which was most beautiful to look upon they gave battle at the point of dawn. The assistance of the Lord was with the Hungarians, and the said duke turned from them in flight. They pursued him to the Danube, and he cast himself into the river in his fear and was drowned in the swiftness of the waters. The Lord restored Pannonia to the Hungarians, just as in the time of Moses He restored to his children *the land of Sehon, king of the Amorrites, and*

nologie in der ungarischen Historiographie des 12–14. Jh.s" *Acta Antiqua Acad. Sc. Hung.* 23 (1975), pp. 356–357. The sentence as it stands, does not make sense; the chronicler may not have understood the meaning of the term.

*omnia regna Chanaan in hereditatem.*¹⁸³ Dum ergo capitaneus iste Arpad uteretur speciali quadam dignitate in Scytia, et hanc haberet ipsius generatio consuetudine^a Scithica legitima et probata,¹⁸⁴ ut unus in expeditione gradientibus debeat anteire, in redeundo vero retrocedere, ipse pro eo alios capitaneos in Pannoniam adeuntes fertur precessisse. Eoque Arpad Zuatapolug cum ceteris Hungaris, ut superius dictum est, debellato et occiso castra fixit in monte Noe prope Albam,¹⁸⁵ et ille locus est primus, quem Arpad sibi elegit in Pannonia, unde et civitas Alba per sanctum regem Stephanum, qui de ipso processit, fundata est ibi prope.¹⁸⁶

29. SECUNDUS CAPITANEUS¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁸Zoboleh vero alius capitaneus, unde Chak oritur generatio, descendisse dicitur in ipso campo et loco, ubi Chakvara^b nunc iacet desolata. Illud etenim castrum Zobolei fundavit capitaneus, quod postmodum Chak ipso mortuo suo nomine a suis cognatis, et familia iussit appellari, primo quidem Zoboley dicebatur. Illud etiam castrum temporibus Andree, Bele et Levente, filiorum Zaar Ladislai per commune consilium Ungarorum est confractum.¹⁸⁹

^a consuetudine] consuetudinem *Ms*

^b *Litteris Arabicis manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Csákvár in margine.*

¹⁸³ Ps 134:11.

¹⁸⁴ Kapitánffy, "Römisch-rechtliche Terminologie," pp. 357–38.

¹⁸⁵ The name of Mount of Noe comes in all likelihood from the place name Novaj near Székesfehérvár. However, Mount Nebo (Deut 34:1), whence Moses saw the Promised Land may also have influenced the imaginary toponym. For the topic of a mountain in center of the realm cf. Cosmas who wrote of the sacred Mount Řip (*Chronica* 1.2, p. 6); in Poland the hill Góra Lecha in Gniezno might have played a similar role.

¹⁸⁶ The chronicler emphasized the continuity from Árpád to King Stephen more explicitly than SK (ch. 27, p. 83). Alba Regia (Fehérvár, now Székesfehérvár) became the coronation and burial site, but not the main residence of the kings of Hungary.

*all the kingdoms of Canaan for an inheritance.*¹⁸³ Now in his rank of captain Árpád was invested with some special dignity in Scythia, and by lawful and approved Scythian custom¹⁸⁴ his family held the dignity that one of them should be in front at every advance and in the rear of every retreat; and therefore he is said to have gone before all the other captains when they entered Pannonia. When Svatopluk had been defeated and killed, as we have told, Árpád encamped with the Hungarians at Mount Noe near Fehérvár;¹⁸⁵ and since it was here that Árpád first made choice of a place of settlement in Pannonia, his descendant, the holy King Stephen, founded nearby the city of Fehérvár.¹⁸⁶

29. THE SECOND CAPTAIN¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁸The second captain was Szabolcs, from whom springs the line of Csák, and he is said to have settled in the very place where Csákvára now lies in ruins. There the captain founded the castle Szabolcs which after his death Csák ordered to be called after his own name by his kindred and family; but it was at first called the castle of Szabolcs. In the times of Andrew, Béla and Levente, the sons of Ladislav the Bald, the castle was destroyed by common decree of the Hungarians.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Cf. SK ch. 28, p. 83.

¹⁸⁸ Inh. in: Figure in red coat armor and lance, holding empty shield (Szabolcs).

¹⁸⁹ Szabolcs's name survived as an ancient and present county of Szabolcs, but it has no clear connection with this kindred. The fate of this castle is unknown, perhaps it was destroyed in the twelfth century when the Csák kindred rebelled against King Stephen III. Andrew and his brothers were the sons of Vazul, on which, see below, ch. 69, pp. 124–9 on their being connected to Vazul's brother, see ch. 87, pp. 164–75, with n. 440.

30. TERTIUS CAPITANEUS

¹⁹⁰Tertius vero capitaneus Gyula fuit, unde Gyula filius Ladizlai derivatur.¹⁹¹ Eratque iste Gyula dux magnus et potens, qui civitatem magnam in Erdelw in venatione [26] sua invenerat, que iam pridem a Romanis constructa fuerat.¹⁹² Habebatque filiam nomine Sarolt pulcherrimam, de cuius pulchritudine provinciales duces diutius loquebantur,¹⁹³ quam Geysa dux consilio et auxilio Beliud, qui terra<m> Kulan possiderat,^a traduxit in uxorem legittimam. Isti Beliud Kulan dedit filiam suam, ut contra fratrem suum Kean debellaret. Et post obitum suum terram suam idem Kulan Beliud hereditavit.¹⁹⁴ Tandem cum Gyula Hungaris in Pannonia habitantibus infestus esset et multipliciter agravatus, per Sanctum Stephanum regem in Pannoniam est deductus. Non tamen iste Gyula capitaneus, sed ab illo tertius.¹⁹⁵

31. QUARTUS CAPITANEUS¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁷Quarti siquidem capitanei vocabulum fuerat Cund, cuius filius Kusyd et Cupan, qui prope Nyr¹⁹⁸ fixere sua castra ibique post baptismum monasterium fundavere.¹⁹⁹

^a possiderat] *recte* possederat.

¹⁹⁰ Inh. in.: Figure in profile with bascinet and spear (Gyula)

¹⁹¹ Anon (ch. 6, p. 19, ch. 20, p. 53, and ch. 27, p. 65) has an entirely different genealogy for the elder Gyula. The word originally referred to a tribal dignity, probably a war leader. The personal names Gyula and Ladislas were frequent in the thirteenth-century Kán kindred.

¹⁹² The Roman city in Dacia was Apulum; later called the "white city of Gyula," Hungarian Gyulafehérvár, Latin and Romanian Alba Julia.

¹⁹³ On Sarolt (Beleknegini), mother of St. Stephen, see also Thietmar, *Chronicon* (8.4) MGH SrG 9. p. 498; cf. János M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary (1000–1386 A.D.)," in: *Medieval Queenship*, J. C. Parsons, ed., pp. 13–24 (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1994). Beleknegini may mean "great duchess" (Velikaja knjagina), while Thietmar translates it as *pulcher domina*. It has been suggested that Sarolt, in Turkish 'white weasel' was translated into Slavic, where 'white' does not exclude 'great.' See Heinrich Kunstmann, "Wer waren die Weisskroaten des byzantinischen Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos?" *Die Welt der Slaven* NS, 8 (1984), pp. 111–122, esp. 116.

30. THE THIRD CAPTAIN

¹⁹⁰The third captain was Gyula, from whom is descended Gyula, the son of Ladislas.¹⁹¹ This Gyula was a great and powerful leader. Once when he was hunting in Transylvania he found a great city which had been built in former times by the Romans.¹⁹² He had a most beautiful daughter, by name Sarolt, whose beauty was for a long time the common talk of the great men of the country,¹⁹³ and whom Duke Géza took as his wife upon the advice and with the help of Beliud, who owned the land of Kulan. Kulan had given his daughter to Beliud on condition that he should fight against Kulan's brother, Kean. On Kulan's death Beliud had inherited his land.¹⁹⁴ Later, because he was hostile to the Hungarians dwelling in Pannonia and having been repeatedly charged [of this], Gyula was removed to Pannonia by King St. Stephen. This, however, was not Gyula the captain, but the third of the line.¹⁹⁵

31. THE FOURTH CAPTAIN¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁷The name of the fourth captain was Kund, whose sons were Kuid and Kaplony, who settled near the Nyírség¹⁹⁸ and after they had been baptized founded a monastery there.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Of these names only Kean is known from elsewhere; but in entirely different context; see Anon. ch. 43, pp. 102–3 and here in ch. 66, pp. 117–8 below.

¹⁹⁵ For this third Gyula see ch. 65, pp. 114–5, below.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. SK ch. 31, p. 85.

¹⁹⁷ Inh. in.: Full figure with princely crown and lance (Kund), shouldering (invisible) shield.

¹⁹⁸ A region in northeastern Hungary, still called Nyírség, probably for its willow-trees (Hung. 'nyír').

¹⁹⁹ The Kaplony kindred built a "clan-monastery" in Kaplony (today Căpleni, Romania). The name Kund may originate in the tribal dignity "kündü", the sacral ruler.

32. QUINTUS CAPITANEUS²⁰⁰

²⁰¹Sed quintus Leel est nominatus, qui Messianos, scilicet Bohemicos de partibus Golgate expulit, ibique diutius castra metatus fuisse perhibetur. Ex isto quidem Zuard oritur generatio, sive prosapia et origo.²⁰²

33. SEXTUS CAPITANEUS

²⁰³Sextus capitaneus Werbulchu nomen habuit, qui circa Balatun sua thabernacula fixisse probatur.²⁰⁴

34. VII-US CAPITANEUS

²⁰⁵Septimus capitaneus Urs dicitur. Istius siquidem generatio circa Seyo locum habebat.²⁰⁶

35. Alie vero generationes, que genere sunt istis pares et consimiles, acceperunt sibi locum et descensum ad eorum beneplacitum. Cum igitur codices quidam contineant, quod isti capitanei septem Pannoniam introierint, et Hungaria ex ipsis solis edita sit ac plantata: unde ergo venit generatio Akus, Bor, [27] Abe²⁰⁷ aliorumque nobilium Hungarorum, cum omnes isti non hospites, sed de Scytia

²⁰⁰ Cf. SK ch. 32, p. 85.

²⁰¹ Inh. in.: Half figure in yellow caftan, 'ducal' cap, (Lél), holding empty shield and saber.

²⁰² Hlohovec and Nitra were mentioned by Anon. (ch. 32, p. 84–5 and elsewhere) but only as centers of Czech domination, Moravia was added by SK. The Szovárd kindred had possessions in the counties of that region, around Komárom/Komarno and Esztergom among them a village called Lél. On the historical person Lél or Lehel, see below, ch. 60, pp. 100–3.

²⁰³ Inh. In. Bust of a man in caftan with peaked hat (Vérbulcsú).

²⁰⁴ Bulcsú is a historical person of the mid-tenth century; he was baptized and awarded the title of a *patricius* by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (DAI ch. 40, pp.

32. THE FIFTH CAPTAIN²⁰⁰

²⁰¹The fifth captain was named Lél. He drove out the Moravians, that is the Czechs, from the regions of Hlohovec, and he is said to have settled there for a long time. From him is descended the line or the kindred of Zovárd.²⁰²

33. THE SIXTH CAPTAIN

²⁰³The sixth captain bore the name of Vérbulcsú, and he is said to have set up his tents near Lake Balaton.²⁰⁴

34. THE SEVENTH CAPTAIN

²⁰⁵The seventh captain was called Örs. His kindred dwelled near the river Sajó.²⁰⁶

35. The other kindreds, who by descent were of equal standing with those of the captains, took dwelling-places at their pleasure. When therefore it is said in some chronicles that the aforesaid seven captains entered Pannonia and alone settled and populated Hungary, then whence come the kindreds of Ákos, Bor, Aba²⁰⁷ and other noble Hungarians since none of these were strangers but had all come forth from Scythia? They adduce no other reason than that it is common to speak of the seven Hungarians. If the

178–9) and was executed after the Battle of Lechfeld in 955 (see below, ch. 60, pp. 100–3). *Vér* means ‘blood’ in Hungarian and the Lád kindred was also called Vérbulcsú. The chronicler disregarded the fantastic etymology of SK (ch. 33, pp. 85–6).

²⁰⁵ Inh. in: Man in profile in long yellow caftan (Örs) holding a sword and a shield on his left (not visible).

²⁰⁶ Cf. SK ch. 30, p. 83. An Örs (in the form Örsúr, which came to be the name of a kindred) appears as a “Cuman” lord in Anon. ch. 30, p. 82–3. The kindred had, indeed, its ancestral properties along the river Sajó.

²⁰⁷ These well-known aristocratic kindreds are mentioned frequently below as well.

descenderunt? Assignant enim hanc rationem solam, quam vulgus dicit^a VII Hungaros. Si ergo VII soli sunt Hungari cum familia, et non plures familie, uxores, filii, filie accipi possunt servi et ancille, numquid enim cum tali familia regna possunt expugnari? Absit!²⁰⁸

36. Accidit autem temporibus Toxun Hungarorum exercitum versus Galliam pro accipiendis spoliis ascendisse. Qui cum in reddito Reno transmeato divisi forent in tres partes, due sine honore, una cum honore in Hungariam descendebat. Qu^{on}am dux Saxonie apud Ysnacum, Turingie civitatem sine VII Hungaris omnes interfecit. Septem autem ex ipsis reservatis amputatis auribus misit in Pannoniam.²⁰⁹ Ite, inquit, ad vestros Hungaros taliter enarrantes, ut amplius non veniant in hunc locum tormentorum. Due vero partes iam Sueuiam introierant, audito, ut acciderat eorum sociis et cognatis, dimiserunt spolia accipere in Sueuia, et quicquid eis occurrit a flumine Illirici usque flumen Saar, sive Leytah, occiderunt ab homine usque ad pecus. Hungaris autem VII sine auribus pro eo, ut vivi redierunt et se occidi cum sociis non elegerunt, communitas²¹⁰ talem sententiam dedisse perhibetur: omnia, que habebant, amiserunt tam in re stabili quam mobili, ab uxoribus et pueris illos separantes pedite<s> sine calceis proprium nil habere permiserunt. Semper etiam insimul de thabernaculo in thabernaculum mendicando usque dum viverent ire compulerunt. Qui quidem septem ob offensam huiusmodi Lazari sunt vocati.²¹¹ Ex istis

^a dicit] dicitur *Ms*

²⁰⁸ Just as in SK (chs. 76–95, pp. 159–76), this (and further below) is an implicit polemic against the “seven principal persons” and the *Hetumoger* of Anon., passim (and perhaps other older chronicles) and is aiming at the historical legitimization of a sizeable number of “ancient kindreds” including immigrant knightly families.

²⁰⁹ A confused chapter, perhaps referring to the memory of the catastrophic defeat at Lechfeld, 955. Though the Hungarians had heavy losses, it was a later tradition that seven of them were released by the victors (cf. Otto of Freising, *Chronica* 6.20, p. 282).

²¹⁰ For a different kind of punishment of “cowards,” see above, pp. 24–5 (following SK) and the comments of Szűcs, (ibid. pp. LXXVI–IX with lit.); see also Paul Freedman “Catalan Lawyers and the Origins of Serfdom,” *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986) pp. 288–314. For cutting off the ears seen as ridicule see Guy Halsall “In-

Hungarians numbered not more than these seven with their families, and had not welcomed numerous families with their wives, sons, daughters, servants and maids, had it been possible for them to defeat several kingdoms? In no way!²⁰⁸

36. It happened in the time of Taksony that an army of the Hungarians set forth towards Gaul to amass booty. When on their return they had crossed the Rhine, they divided their army into three parts, of which two came back to Hungary without honor, and one with honor. It was attacked by the duke of Saxony near Eisenach, a city of Thuringia, and he killed all but seven Hungarians. Having cut off their ears, he sent the seven whom he had spared to Pannonia.²⁰⁹ "Go to your Hungarians, he said, and tell them your story, so that they shall come no more into this place of torment." The other two parts had invaded Swabia, but when they heard what had befallen their comrades and kinsfolk, they stopped taking booty in Swabia, and from the river Iller to the river Sár or Leitha they killed whatever came in their way, both man and beast. It is said that upon the seven Hungarians whose ears had been cut off the community²¹⁰ imposed this sentence because they had returned alive and had not rather chosen to be killed with their comrades: they were deprived of all their property, both movable and immovable, and were separated from their wives and children; they had to go on foot and unshod, and they were not permitted to possess anything of their own. Thus they were compelled to go begging from tent to tent for the remainder of their lives, and because of their ignominy they were called Lazars.²¹¹ It was about the seven men thus disgraced that people speak about and not to the seven said captains. Since worldly vanity makes men attribute to themselves greater excel-

introduction. 'Don't worry, I've got the key,'" in Guy Halsall, ed., *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, p. 18 (Cambridge: CUP, 2002).

²¹¹ The name may come from lepers being called so from their patron saint, Lazarus. Poor scholars or jongleurs that lived under the patronage of the Order of St. Lazarus could have also provided the basis of this construction.

itaque sic dampnatis vulgus dicit, non de septem capitaneis istis primis. Preterea cum sic quodammodo proprium mundanorum arrogantie plausum, plus de se assumere, quam ex alienis de se ipsis componentes,^a ideo isti capitanei VII de se ipsis cantilenas componentes, fecerunt inter se decantari ob plausum secularem et divulgationem sui nominis, ut quasi eorum posteritas hiis auditis inter vicinos et amicos iactare arrogantia se valerent.²¹² Constat itaque non tantum VII capitaneos Pannoniam conquessasse, sed etiam alios nobiles, qui de Scythia [28] descenderunt. Unde in ipsis venerari potest nomen dignitatis plus aliis et potentie, nobilitatis vero equaliter.²¹³

37. Cum ergo quidam sint hospites isto tempore nobilitate pares Hungaris, inquirendum est, quare istud esse habuit, cum Hungari numero ad implendam Pannoniam suffecissent.²¹⁴ Geycha namque dux inter alios divino premonitus oraculo²¹⁵ convertere cepit Hungarorum gentem ad fidem Christianam.²¹⁶ Et dum monitu illos convertere non posset paganismis ritibus deditos et intentos, oportebat quosdam armis edomare, ad quod faciendum, quia plures fuere fidei repugnantes, quam quippe adherentes, necessarium habuit desiderium suum divulgare regibus et principibus Christianis. Quo audito huiusmodi desiderio non solum iuvamen transmiserunt, sed etiam personaliter adierunt, quibus fuerat Hungarorum crudelitas nociva ac exosa.²¹⁷

^a de se ipsis componentes] *omittendum*

²¹² Derogatory comments on heroic songs (thus proving their former existence) are common among chroniclers, see, inter alia, Anon. Preface, p. 5.

²¹³ Whether this sentence is an echo of Art. 11 of the law of 1351 (DRMH 2: 11), which contains the famous statement about all true nobles enjoying the selfsame liberty (*sub una et eadem libertate gratulentur*) and was inserted late into the compilation, can only be speculated about.

²¹⁴ Cf., however, the doubts about the number of Hungarians, above n. 172 p. 66.

²¹⁵ The legends of St. Stephen—e.g., the *Legenda maior*, ch. 3, SRH 2: p. 379 and Hartvic's *Vita* ch. 2, *ibid.*, p. 404; cf. Berend, in: Head, p. 382—contain a vision

lence than they are credited with by others, those seven captains composed lays about themselves and have them sung among themselves in order to win worldly renown and to publish their names abroad, so that their posterity might be able to boast and brag to neighbors and friends when these songs were heard.²¹² It is, therefore, a matter of common agreement that it was not only those seven captains who conquered Pannonia, but also other nobles who had come from Scythia. Though the seven captains might be more venerated in terms of dignity and power, in nobility they were the equals of the others.²¹³

37. Because there are certain guests of these times the equals of the Hungarians in nobility, it must be asked why this should have been so, since the Hungarians would have been sufficient in number to people Pannonia.²¹⁴ Advised among other things by a divine oracle,²¹⁵ Duke Géza began to convert the Hungarian people to the Christian faith.²¹⁶ And since he could not convert them by his admonitions, for they were devoted and dedicated to their pagan rites, it was necessary to subdue some of them by force of arms. To do so, he found it necessary to make his desire known to the Christian kings and princes, because those who fought against the faith outnumbered those who adhered to it. They, having heard his desire, not only sent help but appeared in person, for the cruelty of the Hungarians was both hurtful and hateful to them.²¹⁷

of Grand Duke Géza (d. 997) in which he is told that he was not allowed to complete the Christianisation of his people because his hands are soiled by blood, but his son will accomplish that; cf. the Biblical parallel in 1 Chron 28: 1–3 regarding King David and Solomon.

²¹⁶ Géza was probably baptized around 975 and the Christianisation of Hungary started with the mission of Bishop Pilgrim of Passau; see László Veszprémy, "Conversion in Chronicles: The Hungarian Case," in: Guyda Armstrong, Ian N. Wood, eds., *Christianizing Peoples and Converting Individuals*, pp. 133–46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

²¹⁷ Cf. SK ch. 76, p. 161.

38. DE GENERATIONE TATA²¹⁸

²¹⁹Intravit ergo primo Deodatus de comitibus Sancti Severini de Apulia, ²²⁰qui fundator extitit monasterii de Tata²²¹ et parator. Iste etiam cum Sancto Adalberto Pragensi episcopo sanctum regem Stephanum baptizavit, ²²²cuius quidem monasterii nomen pro eo Tata appellatur, quia cum beatus rex Stephanus ipsius nomen ob reverentiam non exprimeret, sed eum tata appellaret, abolitum est nomen Deodati, sed Tata extitit vocatus, unde etiam ipsius monasterium taliter est vocatum. Huius quidem generatio in Pannonia non habetur, quia quamvis uxorem habuisset, tamen sine heredibus finivit vitam suam.

39. GENERATIO FILIORUM HEDRIH²²³

²²⁴Post hec de Alamania Volphgerus cum fratre suo Hedrico de comitibus Hemburg ortus cum trecentis dextrariis falleratis introivit, cui dux Geycha montem Kyscen et insulam Danubii circa Iaurinum dedit pro descensu eterno, ²²⁵ubi castrum lig[29]neum faciens, fecit quoque in eodem monte cenobium, ubi et est tumultatus. De istis Hedrici generatio derivatur.²²⁶

²¹⁸ The following seventeen chapters are supposed to be based on a list of the immigrant kindreds, compiled by Master Ákos, provost of Buda (1254–72) now lost, but used also by SK (there chs. 76–94, pp. 158–75).

²¹⁹ Inh. in. [descending below writing]: Full figure with visored bascinet and sword, holding empty shield (Tata).

²²⁰ Deodatus is a fictive figure, the members of this family arrived to Hungary during the reign of King Stephen V. San Severino is located not far from Salerno and was seized by that family around the middle of the eleventh century.

²²¹ ‘Tata’ is used in Hungarian for father (‘papa’). The Benedictine monastery was mentioned for the first time in 1093, its beginnings are unknown.

²²² According to the legends of St. Stephen, it was St. Adalbert who baptized him, thus Deodatus would have been his godfather.

²²³ Cf. SK ch. 80, p. 164.

²²⁴ Inh. in: Full figure in red coat armor and closed helmet, holding flag with moon and star and shield with same device (Héder).

38. THE KINDRED OF TATA²¹⁸

²¹⁹First there came Deodatus of the counts of Sanseverino in Apulia,²²⁰ who founded and endowed the monastery of Tata.²²¹ Together with St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, he baptized King St. Stephen,²²² and his monastery bears the name of Tata because out of reverence the blessed King Stephen did not use his name but that of Tata. Thus the name Deodatus was lost and was replaced by Tata, whence his monastery is also called thus. His line has died out in Pannonia; for although he was married, he died without leaving an heir.

39. THE KINDRED OF THE SONS OF HEDRICH²²³

²²⁴After this, Wolfger, who was descended from the counts of Hainburg, came with his brother Henry from Germany with three hundred armed horsemen, to whom Duke Géza made a gift of Mount Güssing and an island in the Danube near Győr that he might dwell there for ever.²²⁵ There he built a castle of wood, and on the same mountain he founded a monastery, where he is buried. From him and his brother springs the kindred of Héder.²²⁶

²²⁵ They arrived to Hungary during the reign of King Géza II; the members of this kindred, later the Héder kindred, were buried at the Benedictine monastery in Güssing. The island refers to Hédervár not far from Győr, that seems to be an island during the floods of the Danube. The castle was built later by King Béla III. According to SK they arrived only with forty armed horsemen.

²²⁶ A Héder is well documented in the middle of the twelfth century, he finally became count palatine as Héder (Heindrik, Henrik); see *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*. 4 vols, Imre Szentpétery, Iván Borsa eds. [=RA] Nos. 101, 104 for 1162–63/4 (Budapest: MTA, Akadémiai, 1923–1987) and Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* [Secular archontology of Hungary] p. 16 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2011).

40. GENERATIO VECCELLINI DE ALAMANIA VENIENTIS²²⁷

²²⁸Ascendit quoque de Bavaria Vecellinus videlicet de Wazunburg,²²⁹ qui cum Sancto Stephano in Symigio Cupan ducem interfecit. Capitaneus enim exercitus exitit illo die.²³⁰ Ex istis Iako nascitur principium et origo.²³¹

41. GENERATIO HUNT ET PAZKAN²³²

²³³Adierunt etiam istis diebus Hunt et Pazkan, qui Sanctum Stephanum regem in flumine Goron gladio Theutonico more accinxerunt.²³⁴ Istorum namque generatio ab istis nominibus distare non videtur. Istorum itaque comitum dux Geycha fretus auxilio et sanctus rex Stephanus suus filius, et divino potius, quosdam rebelles armorum terroribus, nonnullos voluntarie converterunt ad baptismum. Quos quidem comites tam dux Geycha, quam filius suus latis et amplis hereditatibus, pro ipsorum servitiis ditavere, prout apparet nunc manifeste. Qui quidem temporis in processu Ungaris per contractus matrimoniorum sunt inmixti. Istorum etiam consilio et auxilio super Hungaros rex est constitutus, pluresque nobiles Hungari duci Cupan adherentes, baptismum fidemque respuentes

²²⁷ Cf. SK ch. 79, with note 3, p. 163. The name appears in different forms: Wenzil, Wezelin, Wizellin.

²²⁸ Inh. in: Full figure with open helmet, bannered spear and blank shield (Vecellin).

²²⁹ There were several localities called Wasserburg in Bavaria, the most well known on the river Inn.

²³⁰ His participation with other German warriors in Stephen's campaign against Koppány (see ch. 64, pp. 110–112, below) must have been real, but his mention as the killer of the rebel sounds rather folkloric.

²³¹ Not only the Ják kindred considered them their ancestors, but others, like the Rád and Gut-Keled as well.

²³² Cf. SK ch. 78, note 2, p. 162.

40. THE KINDRED OF VECCELLIN WHO CAME FROM GERMANY²²⁷

²²⁸Vecellin also came from Bavaria, namely from Wasserburg.²²⁹ Together with St. Stephen, he killed Duke Koppány in Somogy; for he was the captain of the army on that day.²³⁰ The line of Ják springs from them.²³¹

41. THE KINDRED OF HONT AND PÁZMÁNY²³²

²³³In those days there also came Hont and Pázmány, who at the river Hron had girded king St. Stephen with sword in accordance with German custom.²³⁴ Their kindred bear their names without change. Duke Géza and King St. Stephen, his son, who trusted to the help of these counts, and even more in God, inspired in certain rebels such terror of their arms that they out of fear submitted to baptism; while many others were converted of their own free will. Duke Géza as well as his son rewarded these counts for their services with hereditary grants of wide and broad lands, as is to be seen today. Through contracting marriages in the course of time they became intermingled with the Hungarians. It was by their advice and with their help that a king was set up over the Hungarians, and many Hungarian nobles who adhered to Duke Koppány and rejected baptism and the faith, were degraded into shameful servitude. He was judged

²³³ Inh. in: Full figure in yellow jupon and bascinet holding a banner and tournament shield showing a silver dog's head on a red field (Hunt from *Hund*, 'dog').

²³⁴ These founders of the Hont-Pázmány kindred are mentioned in the contemporary (though later interpolated) foundation deed of Pannonhalma (1001/1002), *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, Györfy György, ed. [=DHA] Vol. I. 1000–1131, pp. 39–41 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1992). On the assumed girding of Stephen (that seems to be anachronistic for the early eleventh century), see László Veszprémy, "Szent István felövezéséről" [On the girding of St. St.]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 102 (1989), pp. 3–13.

ad turpia servitia sunt detrusi. Illis namque in gerendis iudicatus erat nobilior, qui fidei Christi citius adhesisset.²³⁵

42. GENERATIO POTH²³⁶

²³⁷Poth vero generatio^a, <unde> Corardus de Altinburg derivatur, temporibus regis Salomonis filii Andree regis venit in Pannoniam.²³⁸ Hic Hernistus est vocatus, sed propterea Poth fuit appellatus, quia internuncius erat inter imperatorem Corardum et Andream [30] et Salomonem reges. Poth enim Teutonice, Latine nuncius sonat.²³⁹

43.²⁴⁰ Merse autem et Gregorii generatio de Francia est, ex consanguineitate Guilermi dicti comes^b.²⁴¹

44. Kyquini quidem et Renaldi origo est de Yspania, cum regina Margaretha, coniuge Bele regis filii Zaar Ladizlai Pannoniam adeuntes. Hic enim Bela primo uxorem de Polonia habuit.²⁴²

45. De generatione ergo Gwth Keled plura enarrantur,²⁴³ sed pro certo per Petrum regem, dum idem fugit ad Henricum cesarem, in adiutorium sunt ei adducti. De castro Stoph sunt exorti de Sueu-

^a generatio] *add. et del.* generatio de imperatore Corardus

^b comes] *recte* Cornes

²³⁵ The explanation of the origin of inequality is different from that of SK (ch. 7, p. 31); see also Szűcs, *ibid.* pp. LXXII-LXXXV.

²³⁶ Cf. SK ch. 81, note 2, pp. 164–5.

²³⁷ Inh. in.: Full figure in red coat armor and helmet (Poth), holding flag and shield with black bird with white legs on red field (pigeon).

²³⁸ The first known Poth of the Győr kindred was count palatine 1209–12, called Pat, see Zsoldos *Magyarország*, p. 16. A Conrad of Altenburg was a famous figure on the political scene in the middle of the thirteenth century: Master of the Queen's Table in 1253, *ispán* of Borsod in 1258, Master of the Butlers in 1263 see, *ibid.*, p. 319.

²³⁹ The Germ. 'Bote/Pote' means "messenger".

the nobler and the more fitted for government who was more prompt accepting the faith of Christ.²³⁵

42. THE KINDRED OF POTH²³⁶

²³⁷The kindred of Poth, from which Conrad of Altenburg descends, came to Pannonia in the time of King Solomon, son of King Andrew.²³⁸ This man was called Hernistus, but received the name of Poth because he acted as messenger between the Emperor Conrad and the kings Andrew and Solomon. In the German language Poth has the same meaning as the Latin *nuntius*.²³⁹

43.²⁴⁰ The kindred of Becse-Gergely comes from France, and they are related by blood to Guillaume, called le Cornu.²⁴¹

44. Kökényes and Radnót are of Spanish origin and came to Pannonia with Queen Margaret, wife of King Béla, who was the son of Ladislav the Bald. Béla's first wife was from Poland.²⁴²

45. Many stories are told about the kindred of Gut-Keled;²⁴³ but it is certain that King Peter summoned them to his assistance when he fled to Emperor Henry. They came from the castle of Stauff in

²⁴⁰ Cf. SK ch. 86, note 3, p. 167.

²⁴¹ They were most likely of Hungarian origin but may have had French wives. Guillaume le Cornu was a member of the Sicilian Angevin court between 1266 and 1284.

²⁴² A mixed-up story. The Hungarian king who had a wife called Margaret was Béla III (1173–96), but she was not from Spain. "Béla son of Ladislav the Bald" (in fact of Vazul), was Béla I (1060–3) who did have a Polish wife. A member of the kindred held properties in Nógrád County in the mid-twelfth century; may have been a member of the embassy to the French court that made the proposal of marriage on behalf of King Béla III and thus came to be associated with the queen.

²⁴³ Their names are mentioned at the turn of the eleventh to twelfth century.

ia, unde inperator Fridiricus ortum habet.²⁴⁴ Ista enim generatio de primatibus Suevie extitit, pauperes enim sunt hereditatibus, sed probi et valentes sunt in patria memorata.²⁴⁵ Istius siquidem Guthkeled generatio temporibus Salomonis regis, Ladizlai et Geyche ducum extitit exaltat<a>^a. Nam tunc ipsa generatio in duas partes divisa fuit, quidam ducibus adherentes, quidam vero Salomoni et specialiter Wyd,²⁴⁶ quem Salomon exaltasse perhibetur super alios de generatione supradicta.

46. GENERATIO OLIVERII ET RATOLDI²⁴⁷

²⁴⁸Post hec intrant Oliverius et Ratoldus tempore regis Colomani de regno Apulorum. De Caserta ortum habent.²⁴⁹

47.²⁵⁰ Illi vero Sambuk de comitibus Campanie ex Francia oriuntur.²⁵¹

48. GENERATIO HERMANI DE ALAMANIA

²⁵²Hermani etiam generatio cum regina Keisla introivit. Liberi homines sunt de Nurumburg hereditatibus pauperes.²⁵³

^a exaltat<a>] exaltatum *Ms*

²⁴⁴ Castle Stauf is Hohenstaufen. The German emperors mentioned are Henry III (1039–56), and Frederick II (1212–50).

²⁴⁵ Fügedi pointed out that this comment (and ch. 48, below) suggests that many immigrant knights were younger sons of families of good standing, but with little inheritance; see Erik Fügedi, J. M. Bak, “Foreign knights and clerks in early medieval Hungary,” in: *The Expansion of Central Europe in the Middle Ages*, Nora Berend, ed., pp. 319–32 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

²⁴⁶ The first member of the kindred recorded in sources, died in the battle of Mogyóród on the side of King Solomon on 14 March 1074, cf. ch. 121, pp. 222–7 below. On *ispán* Vid, see *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Cf. SK ch. 84, note 1, p. 166.

Swabia, whence comes also Emperor Frederick.²⁴⁴ This kindred descended from the leading men of Swabia; they were poor in lands, yet men of honor and power in their country.²⁴⁵ In the times of King Solomon and Dukes Ladislav and Géza the kindred of Gut-Keled was highly respected. The kindred then divided into two parts, some holding to the dukes, and some to Solomon and especially to Vid,²⁴⁶ whom Solomon is said to have raised in honor above the rest of the kindred.

46. THE KINDRED OF OLIVER AND RATOLD²⁴⁷

²⁴⁸After this, in the time of King Coloman, Oliver and Ratold entered the country from the kingdom of the Apulians. Their place of origin is Caserta.²⁴⁹

47.²⁵⁰ The family of Zsámbék springs from the counts of Champagne in France.²⁵¹

48. THE KINDRED OF HERMÁNY FROM GERMANY

²⁵²The kindred of Hermány came with Queen Gisela. They are free men from Nürnberg, poor in lands.²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Inh. in.: Two full figures with sword and helmet (Oliver and Ratold), holding shields with golden linden leaf.

²⁴⁹ Caserta is a town in Terra di Lavoro. The Italian origin of the kindred is, however, doubtful.

²⁵⁰ Cf. SK ch. 85, note 2, p. 166.

²⁵¹ Their French origin is plausible in view of the frequent foreign names in the kindred. Zsámbék is a locality west of Budapest, with the ruins of a Premonstratensian collegiate church founded by this family.

²⁵² Inh. in.: Bust of helmeted figure with sword (Herman), holding a sword and tournament shield with golden dragon.

²⁵³ Their name is derived from the German Hermann, they are first mentioned in a charter in 1226.

49. DE GENERATIONE BUZAD EST DICENDUM²⁵⁴

²⁵⁵De generatione quidem Buzad est dicendum: huius enim generatio per regem Stephanum, filium secundi Bele in Hungariam adducitur, in adiutorium regis memorati. Ex comitibus enim Orlamundi sunt. Primus enim, qui venit, Hadoth est vocatus, cuius filius similiter Hadolch et Arnol[31]dus. Ex istis origo procedit Buzad bani. Hic enim Hadolch exprimi non potuit, sed paralo<g>yzando Hoholt dicitur. Generatio quidem Chaak cum aliis quibusdam generationibus conspiraverunt contra istum regem, quas per Hoholdum et suam militiam, quam cum ipso adduxerat, dicitur contrivisse.²⁵⁶

50. DE GENERATIONE KELED²⁵⁷

²⁵⁸Stephani, Ladizlai et Gregorii filiorum Keleed prosapia de provincia Meysie ortum habet.²⁵⁹ Stephanus enim filius fuit sororis Meysnensis marchionis, filius comitis de Herfold. Qui occiso Turingie langravio in Frangfurd in sollempni curia, ubi imperator eligi debuit, per eum ac per alios, dum reoccidendi sententia per Alamanie principes contra ipsum lata esset, diebus Geyche regis, filii secundi Bele descendit in Pannoniam cum dextrariis falleratis sexaginta, et a rege predicto receptus sollempniter, optimis et latis possessionibus investitur, prout patet, ipso in Meysnensis regionis proscriptionis penam intrante.

²⁵⁴ Cf. SK ch. 87, note 3, p. 167.

²⁵⁵ Inh. in.: Full figure in red coat armor and helmet with sword (Buzad) and shield displaying a black-and-red head of a chamois on a silver field.

²⁵⁶ A kindred of German origin, called also Hahót. Ban Buzád was ban of Slavonia 1226–28. It was rather Stephen III (1162–1172), and not King Stephen II, mentioned by the chronicler, who invited them to Hungary. For the role of the Csák kindred in the civil wars see below, ch. 29, pp. 253–4 with n. 189 and later, during the fights for the throne and thereafter, chs. 187–212, pp. 340–82.

49. ABOUT THE KINDRED OF BUZÁD IT NEEDS TO BE SAID²⁵⁴

²⁵⁵About the kindred of Buzád this needs to be said: this kindred was brought to Hungary by King Stephen, son of Béla II, in order to aid the said king. They are sprung from the counts of Orlamünde. The first to come was called Hadolch, whose son was called by the same name of Hadolch and also Arnold. From them sprang Ban Buzád. The people of this country could not pronounce Hadolch, and so he was called by the similar name of Hahót. The kindred of Csák conspired with some other kindreds against the king; it is said that they were defeated by Hahót and by the troops which he had brought with him.²⁵⁶

50. THE KINDRED OF KELED²⁵⁷

²⁵⁸The kindred of the sons of Keled, that is, Stephen, Ladislas and Gregory, came from the province of Meissen.²⁵⁹ Stephen was the son of the sister of the margrave of Meissen and of Count Herfold. Having killed the landgrave of Thuringia in Frankfurt on the occasion of a solemn assembly where he and others were to elect an emperor, the German princes passed sentence against him that in return he also should be killed. So in the days of King Géza, son of Béla II, he came into Pannonia with sixty armed horses and was ceremoniously received by the said king, who bestowed upon him most rich and extensive lands, for it was known that he suffered the penalty of proscription in the territory of Meissen.

²⁵⁷ Cf. SK ch. 92, notes 3 and 1, pp. 173–174.

²⁵⁸ Inh. in. S: Large full figure with helmet, sword, and an undecorated shield (Keled).

²⁵⁹ A very confused story; descendants of Keled lived in the thirteenth century, Gregory was still alive in 1290, their supposed ancestor called Geoffrey was mentioned in a royal charter issued by King Géza II in 1156. Actually it was the Fraknoi family, and not the Keled who claimed them as their ancestors. The episode about the murder is also unclear.

51.²⁶⁰ Eorum vero<generatio>, qui dicuntur de Boiotha de Samberg,²⁶¹ descendit in Pannoniam.

52. DE SYMONE ET MICHAELE²⁶²

²⁶³Symonis enim et fratris eius Michaelis generatio quidem Morundorf nominatur,²⁶⁴ temporibus Andree regis, filii Bele tertii descendit de Ispania. Castra quidem multa habet in Ispania illa generatio, ex quibus unum quod melius est, Boyoth.²⁶⁵ Huius quidem Symonis avus, dum cum rege Aragonum annis pluribus contendisset, tandem per eundem regem captivatus in carcere<m> detruditur. Quod Symon [32] comes et Bertramus formidantes, cum secunda uxore prefati regis Andree, que fuerat de Campania,²⁶⁶ in Ungariam intraverunt. In Yspania enim nulla generatio in scut<o>^a suo aquilam ferre audet, nisi Symon et Michael, eapropter, quod exercitum soldani de Tunisio, qui Maioricam et Minoricam insulas per naves intrando et classes occupaverat,^b ceteris militibus regis Aragonie deficientibus eorum generatio fertur expulisse.²⁶⁷ Unde regis et communitatis militia<e> decreto est statutum, quod priori signo, quod fuerat totum rubeum sine aliqua expressa figura, in aquilam mutaretur.

^a scut<o>] scutu *Ms*

^b occupaverat] occupaverant *Ms*

²⁶⁰ Cf. SK ch. 77, note 2, p. 161.

²⁶¹ Babócsa on the river Drava was the ancient domain of the Tibold kindred. Samberg is perhaps identical with Schaumburg on the river Danube.

²⁶² Cf. SK ch. 91, and notes on pp. 169–172.

²⁶³ Inh. in: Two warriors in semi-profile (Simon and Michael) with swords and undecorated shields.

²⁶⁴ Simon and Michael of Nagymarton (today Mattersdorf in Austria) are frequently mentioned between 1277 and 1318. It was their father, Simon the Elder and his sister Lady Tota who arrived from Spain.

51.²⁶⁰ The kindred that is called the kindred of Babócsa came into Pannonia from Samberg.²⁶¹

52. SIMON AND MICHAEL²⁶²

²⁶³The kindred of Simon and his brother Michael is called by the name of Martinsdorf.²⁶⁴ They came from Spain in the time of King Andrew, son of Béla III. This kindred has many castles in Spain, of which one, which is the finest, is called Boiot.²⁶⁵ The grandfather of this Simon fought for many years against the king of Aragon, until at last he was captured by the king and put in prison. This made Count Simon and Bertram afraid, and they came to Hungary with the said King Andrew's second wife, who was from Champagne.²⁶⁶ There is in Spain no kindred which dares to carry an eagle in its coat of arms except that of Simon and Michael; and the reason is that this kindred is said to have driven out the army of the sultan of Tunis when he had attacked with ships the islands of Majorca and Minorca and had defeated the fleet while the other warriors of the king of Aragon were unable to withstand him.²⁶⁷ It was therefore decreed by the king and the council of the knights that the coat of arms of the kindred which hitherto had only been red without any figure should be changed to show an eagle.

²⁶⁵ Perhaps it was Biota, today Ejea de los Caballeros in Zaragóza. SK refers here to their Hungarian possession Bajót, not mentioned by our chronicler.

²⁶⁶ In fact they probably belonged to the entourage of Constance, daughter of Alfonso II (1162–96) who came to Hungary where she married King Émeric in 1196. The second wife of King Andrew was Yolanda, daughter of the Byzantine Latin emperor, Pierre Courtenay.

²⁶⁷ King James I of Aragon reconquered Majorca and Minorca between 1229 and 1235; the "Sultan" was Abu Zakkariyya, emir of Tunis (1227–49).

53. INTROITUS DIVERSARUM NATIONUM



²⁶⁸Preterea intraverunt in Ungariam tam tempore regis Geyche²⁶⁹ et sancti regis Stephani quam diebus regum aliorum Bohemi, Poloni, Greci, Ispani, Hismahelite seu Saraceni, Bessi, Armeni, Saxones, Turingi, Misnenses et Renenses, Cumani, Latini,²⁷⁰ qui diutius in regno conmorando, quamvis illorum generatio nesciatur, per matrimoniorum diversorum contractus Ungaris inmixti nobilitatem pariter et descensum sunt adepti.[33]

54. RECITANTUR FACTA TEMPORE TOXUN DUCIS²⁷¹

²⁷²Postquam autem Zuatapolug per Ungaros, ut superius dictum est, necatus et Hungari descendissent in Pannoniam, per sex annos eorum arma et equos meliorare curaverunt. Anno igitur VII-o Mo-

²⁶⁸ Inh. in: Three warriors with swords and empty shields.

²⁶⁹ Grand Duke, Géza was also titled king in the Lesser Legend of St. Stephen (SRH 2: p. 394).

53. THE ENTRY OF DIVERS NATIONS

²⁶⁸Besides them, in the time of King Géza²⁶⁹ and King St. Stephen as well as in the days of other kings there also entered into Hungary Czechs, Poles, Greeks, Spaniards, Ishmaelites or Saracens, Pechenegs, Armenians, Saxons, Thuringians, Misnians and Rhinelanders, Cumans and Latins.²⁷⁰ After they had stayed for some time in the country, they became intermingled with the Hungarians through the contraction of marriages, and although their origin was unknown, they acquired equal rights of nobility and residence.

54. AN ACCOUNT OF THE THINGS DONE
IN THE TIME OF DUKE TAKSONY²⁷¹

²⁷²After Svatopluk had been slain by the Hungarians, as has been told above, and the Hungarians had settled in Pannonia, for a space of six years they brought their arms and their horses into better condition. Then in the seventh year they invaded Moravia and Bohemia, where at that time Duke Vratislav seemed to have ruled,

²⁷⁰ Cf. SK ch. 94, note 3, p. 175. Fügedi ("Foreign knights," p. 322) saw in this list a reference to the "multiethnic" character of the aristocracy of the kingdom, perhaps in contrast to the neighbouring countries (Bohemia, Poland), where the newcomers were almost all German.

²⁷¹ Cf. SK ch. 34, note 2, p. 87. For the following eight chapters regarding the raids of the Hungarians to the West and the South of Europe, see in general, Gina Fasoli, *Le incursioni ungare in Europa nel secolo X*. (Florence: Sansoni, 1945), Szabolcs Vajay, *Der Eintritt des ungarischen Stammesbundes in die europäische Geschichte (862–933)* (Mainz: Hase und Koehler, 1968), and László Veszprémy, "Hungarian raids," in *Medieval Warfare and Military Technology: An Encyclopedia*, Clifford J. Rogers, ed., 2: pp. 284–6 (Oxford: OUP, 2010).

²⁷² Inh. in. Full figure (Taksony) with yellow leather jupon and sword, holding shield with (unclear) bird.

raviam et Bohemiam, in quibus eo tempore dux Vratizlaus regnare videbatur, crudeliter spoliaverunt. Exinde cum victoria redeuntes treugis ordinatis cum prefato duce uno anno quieverunt.²⁷³

55.²⁷⁴ Post hec Carinthiam hostiliter adeuntes, ultra castrum Leopah dux Meranie Gothfridus nominatus et dux Carinthie Eberhardus, necnon Gregorius Aquilegie patriarcha ipsis occurrentes,²⁷⁵ insimul atrociter pugnaverunt. Et quamvis ex Hungaris plures ibi cecidissent, tamen ambos duces Hungari occiderunt, patriarcha vero per fugam evadente. Abinde spoliata Carinthia, Corniola et Stiria cum maxima preda sunt reversi.

56.²⁷⁶ Audito igitur Conrardo cesare, quod Hungari imperii sui confinia intrassent ducesque memoratos occidissent, decrevit venire in Hungariam. Et cum exisset de Italia, venisset Augustam, Suevie civitatem, ut deinde in Pannoniam invasurus Hungaros descenderet, inter Romanos bellum generatum est interea intestinum, propter quod ipsum retrocedere oportebat. Inter hec Hungari immobiliter annis tribus <permanentes> ad nullas partes perrexerunt.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ The chronology is fictive, Duke Svatopluk died in 894 at the time of the Hungarians' entry into the Carpathian Basin (which, however, this chronicle dated, as above ch. 26, pp. 60–1 two hundred years earlier). Actually, the *Chronicon Budense* (SRH 1: pp. 285–6) version has a closer date, 888 AD, for the *Landnahme*.

²⁷⁴ Cf. SK ch. 35, p. 87.

²⁷⁵ Fictive names and fictive chronology, because there were no dukes of Merania before the middle of the twelfth century. SK may have known about "Eberhard" as Duke Bernhard of Spanheim (1202–56), and a patriarch Gregory of Montelongo (1251–96).

and they cruelly ravaged these lands. After they had made a truce with the aforesaid duke, they returned in victory and remained quiet for a year.²⁷³

55.²⁷⁴ Then they attacked Carinthia, and on the further side of the castle of Ljubljana they were met by the duke of Merania, named Godfrey, by Duke Eberhard of Carinthia, and by Gregory, the patriarch of Aquileia.²⁷⁵ A fierce battle was fought, and although the Hungarians lost many men, they slew both dukes, while the patriarch only escaped by flight. Then having laid waste Carinthia, Krajina and Styria, they returned with great spoils.

56.²⁷⁶ When the Emperor Conrad heard that the Hungarians had entered the bounds of his empire and had killed the aforesaid dukes, he determined to invade Hungary; and leaving Italy, he came to Augsburg, a city in Swabia, with the intention of descending into Pannonia in order to attack the Hungarians. But meanwhile internal strife broke out among the Romans, so that he had to return. Meanwhile the Hungarians were quiet and did not go forth against any other lands for three years.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ Cf. SK ch. 36, p. 88.

²⁷⁷ Confused chronology again. Conrad was German king between 911 and 918. It was the German king, Louis the Child (900–11) whose army was defeated at Pressburg in 907, and later at Augsburg in 910 by the Hungarians, recorded in the German Annals (Ann. Alamannici MGH SS 1, p. 55 ad a. 910) and the *Antapodosis* of Liudprand (II, 4). Actually, similar confusion of persons occurs in German narratives as well, see Roswitha Wisniewski, "Pestis patriae: Die Ungarneinfälle in der Kaiserchronik," in: *Deutsche Literatur und Sprache von 1050–1200. Festschrift Ursula Hennig*, Annagret Fiebig, Hans-Jochen Schiewer, eds., pp. 347 to 57. (Berlin: Akademie, 1995).

57. HUNGARI DEVASTANT BULGARIAM²⁷⁸

²⁷⁹Anno autem quarto Hungari Bulgariam invaserunt, ex ea thesaurum et arma^a innumerabilia^b adduxere castra ipsorum occupantes et civitates eorum destruentes, que Domino concedente et nunc habent et possi[34]dent.²⁸⁰

58.²⁸¹ Postquam autem memorata regna devicerunt per Forum Iulii usque in marchiam Longobardie intraverunt, ubi civitatem Paduam igne ac gladio consumpserunt. Ex hinc intrantes Lombardiam Linthar, Vercelline civitatis episcopum, imperatoris Karoli consiliarium fidissimum occidentes ex ipsius ecclesia thesaurum maximum rapuerunt, totamque pene Longobardiam spoliantes cum maximo spolio in Pannoniam cum victoria redierunt.²⁸²

59.²⁸³ Post hec decem annis repausantes anno undecimo Saxoniam, Turingiam, Sueuiam Francosque orientales, id est Burgundos demoliti in confini<is> Bavarie ultra castrum Abah citra Danubium Alemanorum exercitus ipsos in reditu honeratos invaserunt ex obrupto. Quos Hungari in fugam turpiter converterunt cesis multis milibus ex eisdem. In quo quidem conflictu ex Ungaris tria milia virorum perierunt, qui vero evaserunt, ad propria redeuntibus annis sedecim immobiliter in Hungaria permanserunt.²⁸⁴

^a arma] *recte* armenta *SK*

^b innumerabilia] innumerabilia *Ms*

²⁷⁸ Cf. *SK* ch. 37, p. 89, who does not imply any possessions in Bulgaria.

²⁷⁹ Hist. in: Mounted warriors riding against three-teared landscape with towns and castles (Bulgaria).

²⁸⁰ Hungarian armies appeared often in the territory of Bulgaria, mainly when it was part of the Byzantine Empire. In 1270 the Hungarian kings adopted the title of *Rex Bulgarie* without ever having achieved any permanent influence there, cf. also Anon. chs. 41, 45, pp. 86–8, 98–9; see also below, ch. 180, pp. 330–1.

57. THE HUNGARIANS LAY WASTE BULGARIA²⁷⁸

²⁷⁹In the fourth year the Hungarians invaded Bulgaria, bringing back treasure and innumerable cattle, occupying the castles and despoiling the cities which by the Lord's will they still hold and possess.²⁸⁰

58.²⁸¹ After they had subdued the aforesaid kingdoms, they passed through Friuli as far as the march of Lombardy, where they destroyed the city of Padua by fire and sword. Thence they entered Lombardy, and they slew Liutward, bishop of the city of Vercelli, who was the most faithful counselor of the Emperor Charles, and from his church they carried off great treasure; laying waste almost all Lombardy, they returned victoriously to Pannonia with rich booty.²⁸²

59.²⁸³ After having then rested for ten years, in the eleventh year they ruined Saxony, Thuringia, Swabia, and the eastern Franks, that is the Burgundians. As they were returning burdened with booty, suddenly on the boundaries of Bavaria beyond the castle of Abbach on the hither side of the Danube an army of the Germans fell upon them. The Hungarians put them to shameful flight, and many thousands of them were slain. On the side of the Hungarians three thousand men perished in the battle, and those who escaped returned to their homes. For sixteen years they remained quiet within the land of Hungary.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Cf. Anon. ch. 54, p. 119 and SK ch. 38, p. 89.

²⁸² Charles the Fat, (died 888) was the Frankish king, Liutward was bishop of Vercelli between 879/880 and 887. His murder by the Hungarians took place in 899, when for the first time the Hungarians pillaged North Italy, cf. *Cont. Reginonis* ad a. 907–910, 912 (pp. 154–5 and 157; cf. MacLean pp. 232, 234) .

²⁸³ Cf. SK ch. 39, pp. 90–1.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Anon. ch. 54 (pp. 118–9) based on *Cont. Reginonis* (as above). The fictive story at Abbach (a castle near Regensburg) was first mentioned by SK as above.

60. DE MORTE LEEL ET BULCHU CAPITANEORUM²⁸⁵

²⁸⁶Regnante vero per Alemaniam Corrado primo decimo octavo anno Hungari egressi quibusdam partibus Teutonie devastatis,^a cum ad urbem Augustam pervenissent, Urrico episcopo cum civibus et Suevie primatibus resistentibus, tandem cum Hungari eandem obsiderent civitatem, obstinati nolentes de urbe recedere, missis nunciis ad Corardum memoratum, ut celeriter urbanis succurreret, idem non omisit. Ungaris igitur se incaute circa obsessio- nem civitatis ingredientibus Alamanicus et Ytalicus exercitus illos invasit ex obrupto, ut si fugere voluissent, non potuissent, ex una parte fluvioli^b, qui illis diebus per canales mirabiliter inundaverat, impedimentum faciens, ab alter<a>^c vero exercitibus predictis circumvallantibus, sicut murus, illosque constringentibus. Sic itaque artati ab hostibus, quidam captivati ab eis, [35] aliqui crudeliter sunt necati.²⁸⁷ In quo loco Leel et Bulchu illustres capitanei captivati sunt et ducti coram cesare. Quos cum cesar requireret, quare Christianis essent sic crudeles, dicunt: Nos sumus ultio summi Dei, ab ipso vobis in flagellum destinati, tunc enim per vos captivamur et occidimur, cum persequi vos cessamus. Quibus imperator: Eligite vobis mortem qualem vultis. Cui Leel ait: Afferatur michi tuba mea, cum qua primum bucinans, postea^d tibi respondebo. Allataque est tuba ei et appropians cesari, cum se ingereret ad bucinandum, ipsum cesarem sic fortiter in fronte cum tuba fertur percussisse, ut illo solo ictu imperator moreretur. Dixitque ei: Tu preibis ante me

^a devastatis] devastantis *Ms*

^b fluvioli] *recte* fluvius Lih/fluvius Lili

^c alter<a>] altero *Ms*

^d Postea] postea hec *Ms*

²⁸⁵ Cf. SK ch. 40, pp. 92–3.

²⁸⁶ Hist. in.: Seated king (Conrad) hit by long object (supposed to be a horn) in the hand of figure with fur-hat (Lél), behind whom a peak-hatted and a few helmeted persons are standing.

60. THE DEATHS OF THE CAPTAINS LÉL AND BULCSÚ²⁸⁵

²⁸⁶In the eighteenth year of the reign of Conrad I over Germany, the Hungarians went forth and after ravaging parts of Germany they came to the city of Augsburg, to which they laid obstinate siege; nor were they willing to withdraw from the city, while Bishop Ulric together with the citizens and the chief men of Swabia resisted them and sent messages to the aforesaid Conrad that he should quickly come to their aid. He answered their appeal; and while the Hungarians incautiously maintained their investment of the city, the German and Italian army suddenly fell upon them, so that even if they had wished to flee they could not do so; for on the one side their way was barred by the river which in those days had been exceptionally flooded by the water from its tributaries, and on the other side the aforesaid armies surrounded them and pressed upon them like a wall. Being thus trapped by the enemy, some of them were taken prisoners and others were cruelly put to death.²⁸⁷ In this place the illustrious captains Lél and Bulcsú were made captive and brought before the emperor. When he asked them why they were so cruel towards the Christians, they replied: "We are the great God's vengeance, destined by Him to be a scourge unto you, and therefore we are captured and slain by you when we cease to persecute you." To which the emperor replied: "Choose what death you wish to die." Lél said to him: "Let my horn be brought to me, and when I have blown a blast upon it I will answer you." So his horn was brought to him, and coming near to the emperor he made as if to blow it, and then with his horn he smote the emperor so strongly upon the forehead that with that single

²⁸⁷ On the decisive battle at Lechfeld on 10 August 955 see Charles R. Bowlus, *The Battle of Lechfeld and Its Aftermath, August, 955: The End of the Age of Migrations in the Latin West*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) – Anon. did not mention it explicitly, SK told the story similarly (ch. 40, pp. 90–5) The German king was Otto I (936–973), Ulric was bishop of Augsburg from 923 till 973, canonized in 993; there is no evidence for an Italian contingent in the battle.

michique in alio seculo eris serviturus. Est namque fides Sciticorum, ut quoscumque viventes occiderent, in alio seculo ipsis servire teneantur.²⁸⁸ Detentique sunt sine mora et Ratispone patibulo suffocati.²⁸⁹

61.²⁹⁰ Alius autem exercitus Hungarorum, in quo erant bene viro-
rum armatorum milia quadraginta, qui castra metati sunt longe ab
Augusta civitate, sentientes socios suos tam crudeliter artari, capti-
vari et occidi, seorsum in quandam insulam^{a,291} se receperunt, ex-
pectantes, ut se ab invicem imperatoris exercitus separaret. Et dum
maior pars cesaris exercitus tendentes irent versus Renum, Hunga-
ri in campo quodam illos coniungentes sagittis primitus illorum
equos occiderunt, tota die ipsos nec descendere, nec quoquam fu-
gere permittendo. Tandem vero se movere dum non possent, capti-
vari se dederunt, cum quibus socios suos Ratispone detentos redi-
merent. Ipsi vero exinde tali fortuna eis occurrente, monasterium
de Vulta combusserunt, ubi multum de auro haurientes, abinde
Reno transpassato Lothoringensem ducatum igne et gladio vasta-
verunt, ubi circa Strozburg, que in Latino dicitur Argentina, in
quodam prelio Echardum ducem Lothoringie et Pertoldum ducem
Barbancie, qui ei venerat in auxilium, captivantes decollaverunt.
Inde vero Galliam atrociter affligentes, crudeliter in ecclesia<s>
Dei sevientes Metenseque, Treuerense et Aqui<s>granense terri-

^a insulam] *recte* silvam

²⁸⁸ The tale of Lél's horn must have been part of Hungarian oral tradition (perhaps connected with the death of Duke Conrad the Red of Lotharingia in the battle at Lechfeld), though Anon. did not mention it. SK (ch. 40, p. 93) presented it as a "fanciful story," logically arguing that prisoners are unable to do such things. Interestingly, our chronicler accepted it at face value. A tenth-century horn of Byzantine/South Italian (12th C.) origin in the Museum of Jászberény is shown as "Lél's horn," even though it came there only in the sixteenth century. The motive of the hero's horn was well known in Hungary, too, if from no other sources, then about Roland and his Olifant. The archaic belief among steppe people that persons killed would serve their killer in the other world is recorded, e. g., in Marco Polo (Book 1: ch. 51). Some words in this chapter originate from Canon law, cf. Gratian c. xxiii, q. iv. c. 50: "si ea de quibus vehementer Deus offenditur insequi vel ulcisci differimus, *ad irascendum utique divinitatis patientiam provocamus*."

blow the emperor was dead. "You shall go before me," he said to him, "and will be my slave in the other world," for the Scythians believe that whomsoever they kill in their lifetime, these are obliged to serve them in the next world.²⁸⁸ Without delay they were seized and hanged on the field of Regensburg.²⁸⁹

61.²⁹⁰ Another army of the Hungarians in which there were a good forty thousand armed men, had encamped at a distance from the city of Augsburg; and hearing how cruelly their comrades were surrounded, captured, and killed, they removed to an island,²⁹¹ awaiting that the emperor's army would now divide from one another. When the greater part of the emperor's army was moving towards the Rhine, the Hungarians surrounded them in a certain field, then they first killed their horses with their arrows, and throughout a whole day they did not allow them either to settle or to flee. At last, since they were unable to move, they gave themselves up, and they were exchanged for those who had been taken prisoner at Regensburg. Fortune thus helping them, they then burned to the ground the monastery at Fulda, where they looted much gold. Then having crossed the Rhine they ravaged the Duchy of Lorraine with fire and sword, and later, in a battle near Strasbourg, which in Latin is called Argentina, they captured Eckhard, the duke of Lorraine, and Berthold, the duke of Brabant, who had come to his help, and beheaded them. Then they wreaked terrible cruelty upon Gaul, raging furiously against the churches of God and laying waste the lands of Metz, Trier and

²⁸⁹ The number of the executed leaders was recorded by Widukind (III, 48, p. 128), without names. Bulcsú is reported by Ioannes Skylitzes (ed. Bekker, p. 237) as having been implated. The *Annales Sangallenes Maiores* (MGH SS I, p. 79) name Bulcsú and Lél, (SS I, p. 79); Lél and Súr are named in Adalbert's *Vita Henrici II.* (MGH SSrG, p. 233)

²⁹⁰ Cf. SK ch. 41, pp. 96–7.

²⁹¹ May be a textual corruption, from "*silva*" to "*insula*." Other codices of the chronicle family have *silva*.

torium devastantes,²⁹² [36] deinde per obrupta montium Senoniensium²⁹³ per populos eterni Martis viam sibi gladio aperientes paraverunt. Ubi siquidem Segusam Taurinamque civitates destruxerunt, montesque prefatos perforantes planum Lombardie cum vidissent, totam pene provinciam concitatis cursibus vastavere et ita ad proprium regnum cum victoria revertuntur.

62. GRECI DEVINCUNTUR PER HUNGAROS²⁹⁴



²⁹⁵Vicesimo autem primo anno egressi in Bulgariam intraverunt et inde Ydropolim venientes ipsa expugnata Constantinopolim tandem obsederunt.²⁹⁶ In obsidione igitur urbis memorate Hungaris constitutis quidam Grecus, sicut gygas emissus de urbe ad luctandum, cum eo duos Hungaros inpetebat altercari dicens, quod si ambos non devinceret, Grecorum imperator censu Hungaris teneretur.²⁹⁷ Qui cum Hungaris infestus esset ultra modum, unum contrarium ei invenerunt, qui oppositus Greco ita ait: Ego, inquit, sum Bothond, rectus Hungarus, minimus Hungarorum, adiungas

²⁹² According to the *Cont. Reginonis* ad a. 915, 917, 932, 954, (pp. 155, 159, 167–8, cf. MacLean pp. 232, 237–8, 240, 247) they reached Fulda in 915. Dukes Erchanger and Berthold were executed by King Conrad I in 917, and not by the Hungarians. A fictive revenge after the Hungarian defeat was recorded by Anon.

Aachen.²⁹² Thence they made their way through the steep Mont Cenis,²⁹³ and among ever warlike peoples they opened up a road for themselves with the sword. They sacked the cities of Susa and Torino, and when they had pierced through the aforesaid mountains and beheld the plain of Lombardy, they devastated with their fast rides almost the whole province, and so they returned victorious to their own kingdom.

62. THE GREEKS ARE DEFEATED BY THE HUNGARIANS²⁹⁴

²⁹⁵Going forth in the twenty-first year, they entered Bulgaria; and after they had come to Adrianople and taken it by storm, they finally laid siege to Constantinople.²⁹⁶ While the Hungarians invested the city, a certain Greek of gigantic stature was sent forth to fight with them; he asked for two Hungarians to meet him in combat, and if he did not defeat them both, the emperor of the Greeks should become tributary to the Hungarians.²⁹⁷ He moved the Hungarians to exceeding wrath, and they found one man to oppose him. Facing his adversary, he spoke thus to the Greek: "I am Botond, a proper Hungarian, the least of the Hungarians.

ch. 55, pp. 118–21. On fictive revenge, see Martin Clauss, *Kriegsniederlagen im Mittelalter. Darstellung – Deutung – Bewältigung*, pp. 297–303 (Paderborn &c.: Schöningh, 2010).

²⁹³ *Montes Senones (Senoniensium/ Senonum)* feature in Anon. ch. 56 (pp. 122–3), but not in SK.

²⁹⁴ Cf. SK ch. 42, pp. 100–1.

²⁹⁵ Inh. in.: Princely figure (Taksony) with lance and shield displaying the sign of a bird.

²⁹⁶ The Hungarians reached Constantinople twice, in 934 and 959, without ever laying siege to the city.

²⁹⁷ The story about the single combat, a widespread theme in heroic tales; see Rachel E. Kellett, *Single combat and warfare in German literature of the high middle ages*. (London: Maney, 2008). The episode was dismissed by Anon. (ch. 42, pp. 88–91) as it did not feature in any chronicle.

tibi duos Grecos, quorum unus conservare debeat animam tuam exituram, alter vero cadaver tuum subter[37]randum, quia certissime censualem faciam Grecorum imperatorem genti mee. Unde capitaneus Hungarorum nomine Opour,²⁹⁸ qui ill<or>um exercitui de comuni voluntate fuerat constitutus, iussit Botond cum dolabro suo pergere contra portam urbis, que erat metallina, et in porta declarare vires suas cum dolabro. Veniens autem usque portam talem ictum et cesuram in ipsa porta fecisse perhibetur, quod puer annorum quinque per ipsum foramen exire et intrare satis large potuisset.²⁹⁹ Facto namque spectaculo Hungarorum et Grecorum, parata area ad certandum ante portam urbis parva hora simul in unum dimicantes, Grecus in terram per Hungarum est detrusus et statim sine mora spiritum exalavit. Quod factum et casum Grecorum imperator, qui stabat in urbis propugnaculo cum coniuge sua, pro ingenti verecundia reputantes averterunt facies suas pergentes in palacium. Verumptamen cum Hungari cenum repetissent, pro quo certamen commissum fuerat et pugnatum, dum risum faceret Grecorum imperator de censu postulato, recedentes Hungari de obsidione civitatis, depopulati sunt totam Greciam haurientes ex ea aurum, gemmas et armenta infinita sicque ad propria sunt reversi. Communitas itaque Hungarorum cum suis capitaneis sive ducibus hec et alia huiusmodi usque ad tempora Toxun ducis gessisse perhibetur.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ The name may have been common among the Hungarians. A certain Apour of the Pécs kindred was count palatine in 1298–9 (see Zsoldos, *Magyarország*, p. 25).

²⁹⁹ A similar symbolic act is recorded about the Polish Duke Bolesław concerning the Golden Gate of Kiev, in the *GpP* 1.7 and 1.23, pp. 42–3 and 88–9.

Fetch two more Greeks, one to care for your soul when it shall take its flight, the other for the burying of your carcass, for most surely I shall make the emperor of the Greeks tributary to my people." Then the captain of the Hungarians, Apor by name,²⁹⁸ who by common will had been placed in command of the army, ordered Botond to take his axe and go up to the city gate, which was of metal, and on that gate to prove with what strength he could wield his axe. Coming up to the gate, he is said to have struck a blow which split the gate so wide that a boy of five years would have had enough room to go in and out.²⁹⁹ While he provided this spectacle for the Hungarians and the Greeks, a space was made ready for the combat outside the city gate; and after they had fought but a short while, the Greek was thrown to the ground by the Hungarian and there he at once breathed his last. Witnessing this as he stood upon the city battlements with his wife, the emperor felt great shame, and turning away their faces they went into the palace. But when the Hungarians repeated the claim at tribute which had been at issue in the combat, the emperor of the Greeks laughed at the demanded tribute; whereupon the Hungarians, raising the siege of the city, ravaged the whole of Greece, carrying away from it gold, jewels and flocks beyond numbering. Then they returned home. These and suchlike deeds are said to have been done by the Hungarian community and their captains or dukes until the times of Duke Taksony.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Anon. set the end of the raids to the times of Taksony (ch. 56, pp. 124–5), but SK "until the times of Grand Duke Géza" (ch. 43, pp. 100–1). Their last raid in Southern Europe ended in fact at the defeat of the Hungarian troops by a Byzantine-led Russian, Bulgarian, Pecheneg coalition army at Arkadiopolis (Lüleburgaz) in 970.

63. SANCTUS STEPHANUS PRIMUS REX HUNGARORUM NASCITUR³⁰¹



³⁰²[38] Porro Toxun genuit Geycham et Michaellem, Michael vero genuit Calvum Ladizlaum et Vazul, Geycha vero divino premonitus oraculo³⁰³ anno Dominice incarnationis nongentesimo sexagesimo nono,³⁰⁴ quemadmodum in legenda Beati Stephani regis scriptum est, genuit Sanctum Stephanum regem ex Sarolth, filia Gyula. At rex Stephanus plures quidem genuit filios,³⁰⁵ sed inter alios habuit unum filium nomine Emericum, Deo amabilem et hominibus honorabilem, cuius memoria in benedictione est. Hic autem per inscrutabile divini consilii iudi-

cium *raptus est de medio, ne malicia mutaret intellectum eius* et ne *factio* deciperet *animum eius*,³⁰⁶ quemadmodum de inmatura morte scribitur in libro Sapientie. Ut ergo acta ne agamus et exposita ne exponamus, quot et quantis virtutibus floruerit, et quam fervens in Dei servitio sanctus confessor Christi Emericus dux fuerit, scribere supersedimus. Quisquis enim hoc scire voluerit, ex legenda eiusdem beatissimi confessoris plenam sanctissime conversationis eius notitiam habere poterit.³⁰⁷ Nos ea potius, que ab aliis scriptoribus pretermissa sunt, breviter ac summatim scribere intendimus.³⁰⁸

³⁰¹ Cf. SK ch. 43, pp. 101–3.

³⁰² Inh. In.: Middle aged prince on throne-bench with cross-mounted orb and long scepter (Géza).

³⁰³ The “divine prophecy” refers on the one hand to the aforementioned vision of Grand Duke Géza (above, p. 80, n. 215) and on the other to a dream of Stephen’s mother Sarolt, added to the legend by Bishop Hartvic, in which the protomartyr St. Stephen announced that her son would be king (SRH 2: p. 406; cf. Berend in:

63. ST. STEPHEN, FIRST KING OF THE HUNGARIANS, IS BORN³⁰¹

³⁰²Then Taksony begot Géza and Michael, and Michael begot Ladislás the Bald and Vazul. And having received a divine prophecy,³⁰³ Géza begot King St. Stephen by Gyula's daughter, Sarolt, in the nine hundred and sixty-ninth year of the incarnation of the Lord,³⁰⁴ as is written in the legend of the blessed King Stephen. King Stephen in turn begot many sons,³⁰⁵ and among them he had a son named Emeric, beloved by God and honored by men, who is of blessed memory. By God's inscrutable wisdom he was taken from the world, *lest wickedness should alter his understanding or deceit beguile his soul*,³⁰⁶ as is written concerning untimely death in the Book of Wisdom. In order that we may not do what has been done nor expound that which has been expounded, we will refrain from telling how many and how great were his excelling virtues, and how fervent a servant of God this holy believer in Christ, Prince Emeric, was. Whoever wishes to know of these things, he can receive full report of his most holy way of life in the legend of this most blessed confessor.³⁰⁷ It is our intention rather to write briefly and concisely of those things which have been passed over by other writers.³⁰⁸

Head, p. 380). Actually, the miniature on p. 98 of the MS (here, 108) depicts this latter vision, although the text does not contain but the above implicit reference.

³⁰⁴ There are different dates in the sources for the birth of Stephen the future king, SK (ch. 43, pp. 100–1) has 967. See also below, n. 310, p. 100.

³⁰⁵ Tradition preserved only the name of (St.) Emeric, though later sources record a certain Otto, which would be fitting to the Ottonian orientation of the king. There is, however, no reference to other sons in any of the Lives.

³⁰⁶ Wis 4: 11.

³⁰⁷ Canonized in 1083, cf. his legend is in SRH 2: pp. 441–60; English translation by Cristian Gaspar, in *Sanctitas Principum Duces, Episcopi et Abbates Europae Centralis (Saec. XI–XIII)—The Sanctity of the Leaders: Holy Kings, Princes, Bishops, and Abbots from Central Europe (Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries)*. Gábor Klaniczay, ed., (Budapest: CEU Press, forthc. CEMT 7) [henceforth CEMT 7].

³⁰⁸ "Referring" readers to hagiographical texts was typical of other chroniclers, too, see János M. Bak, "Hagiography and Chronicles," in: *Promoting the Saints. Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Periods. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for His 60th Birthday*, Ottó Gecser et. al., eds. pp. 51–8 (Budapest: CEU Press – CEU Dept. of Medieval Studies, 2011).

64. PUGNA SANCTI REGIS STEPHANI CONTRA CUPAN DUCEM



³⁰⁹[39] Sanctus autem rex Stephanus iam pridem in adolescentia³¹⁰ sua contra Cupan ducem fortem et potentem gessit bellum gloriosum. Erat autem Cupan filius Calvi Zyrind,³¹¹ qui etiam vivente Geycha duce, patre Sancti Stephani regis ducatum tenebat. Mortuo autem Geycha duce Cupan voluit matrem Sancti Stephani regis sibi per incestuosum copulare connubium et Sanctum Stephanum occidere ducatumque eius sue subdere potestati.³¹² Hic fuerat dux Symigiensis.³¹³ Sanctus

autem Stephanus convocatis proceribus suis per interventum beatissimi Martini confessoris divine misericordie imploravit auxilium.³¹⁴ Postmodum vero congregato exercitu perrexit obviam hosti suo et ad amnem Goron primitus accinctus est gladio, ibique ad custodiam corporalis salutis sue duos principes Hunt et Paznan constituit. Totius autem exercitus sui principem et ductorem Venicilinum hospitem Alamanum genere prefecit.³¹⁵ Conmisso itaque

³⁰⁹ Inh. in: Haloed king (Stephen) in full armor (the coat armor striped with the red and silver bars of the House of Árpád) and golden swordbelt, holding banner and shield with a black Lotharingian cross growing out of a triple mound on a red field (Hungary).

³¹⁰ As we have no reliable source on the birth date of Stephen, several hypotheses have been presented about it based on his "adolescence" in ca. 997/8; cf. ch. 63, n. 304, p. 109 above.

³¹¹ Tar Zerind (variant Szerénd) belonged to the Árpád dynasty in the generation of Géza, consequently Koppány was of the same generation as Stephen I. The Hungarian 'tar' means 'bald,' probably in the sense of a pagan hairstyle.

64. THE FIGHT OF KING ST. STEPHEN AGAINST DUKE KOPPÁNY

³⁰⁹King St. Stephen waged a glorious war as early as in his adolescence³¹⁰ against the mighty and powerful Duke Koppány. Now Koppány was the son of Zerind the Bald,³¹¹ who in the lifetime of Grand Duke Géza, father of King St. Stephen, held sway over a duchy. On the death of Grand Duke Géza, Koppány desired to enter into an incestuous marriage with the mother of King St. Stephen, to kill St. Stephen and to subject his duchy to himself.³¹² He was the duke of Somogy.³¹³ Having called together his magnates, St. Stephen through the intervention of the blessed confessor Martin besought the assistance of the divine mercy.³¹⁴ Then with his assembled army he went to meet his enemy. At the river Hron he was for the first time girded with sword, and there also he appointed the two princes Hont and Pázmány to be his bodyguards. As head and leader of his whole army he appointed Vecellin, who was a guest of German origin.³¹⁵ Battle was joined between the two

³¹² It may have been that Koppány wanted to marry the widow of Géza following the principle of levirate (known from the Bible).

³¹³ The territory of the Somogy County—as the first counties in general—extended over larger areas than the later ones. For example, Somogy County included the whole southwest as far as the river Sava, later reduced to the river Drava line. It is possible that these vast territories developed from tribal regions, such as, besides Koppány, those of Ajtony and Gyula, ch. 65, pp. 114–6.

³¹⁴ St. Martin, born in Pannonia, was regarded as one of the patrons of the new kingdom, see the foundation deed of Pannonhalma abbey (1001/2) dedicated to him, DHA 1: pp. 39–41.

³¹⁵ German knights who arrived with Queen Gisela played a decisive role in Stephen's fight against his rival, but the ceremony of the girding might be a later addition (see n. 234, p. 85, above). In the lost original version or oral tradition the name "Hron," (in German "Gran") might have meant the castle Strigonium, Esztergom as well. Hont and Pázmány became the founders of a noble kindred, Hont was the first *ispán* of Hont County. Vecellin, mentioned as Orci in the cited deed of Pannonhalma, was considered to be the founder of the Rád kindred (according to others, of the Ják kindred), cf. the person of Martin (Bátor Opos) in chs. 26, 101, 107, 118, 121, 127, from this kindred.

prelio inter utrumque diu et fortiter est dimicatum, sed divine miserationis auxilio Beatus Stephanus dux gloriosam obtinuit victoriam.³¹⁶ In eodem autem prelio We<nci>linus comes interfecit Cupan ducem et largissimis beneficiis a Beato Stephano tunc duce remuneratus est. Ipsum vero Cupan Beatus Stephanus in quatuor partes fecit mactari: primam partem misit in portam Strigoniensem, secundam in Vesprimiensem, tertiam in Iauriensem, quartam autem in Erdelw.³¹⁷ Beatus enim Stephanus dux votum, quod tunc voverat, Deo fideliter reddidit, nam universum populum in provincia Cupan ducis degentem, decimas liberorum, frugum ac pecorum suorum cenobio Sancti Martini dare perpetuo iure decrevit.³¹⁸ Predictus autem Vencellinus genuit Radi, Radi vero genuit Misca, Misca vero genuit Cupan et Martinum.

³¹⁶ Dated 997.

³¹⁷ It might have been Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár).

³¹⁸ That is the Benedictine monastery at Pannonhalma. The tithe of children, mentioned in Hartvic's *Life of St. Stephen* (ch. 6, SRH 2: pp. 409–410; cf. Berend in: Head, p. 382) and the chronicles is not documented anywhere else and was not repeated in later transcripts of the foundation charter. It may have never been lev-

armies and the struggle was long and hard, but by the assistance of the divine mercy the blessed Duke Stephen gained a glorious victory.³¹⁶ In this battle Count Vecellin slew Duke Koppány and was rewarded with most generous gifts by the blessed Stephen, at that time a duke. As for Koppány, the blessed Stephen caused his body to be quartered: the first part he sent to the gate of the city of Esztergom, the second to that of Veszprém, the third to that of Győr, and the fourth to Transylvania.³¹⁷ The blessed Duke Stephen faithfully fulfilled the vow which he had sworn to God, for he decreed that all people who lived in the land of Duke Koppány should give up for all time one tenth of their children, of their fruits and their flocks to the monastery of St. Martin.³¹⁸ The aforesaid Vecellin begot Radi, Radi begot Miska, Miska begot Koppány and Martin.

ied. See: László Solymosi, "Szent István és a pannonhalmi apátság tizedjoga" [St. Stephen and the right to tithes of the abbey of P.] in: *Episcopus, archiabbas benedictinus, historicus ecclesiae* pp. 11–24 (Budapest: METEM, 2016). There were constant law suits concerning the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the question of tithes in Somogy County between the abbey and the bishoprics of Veszprém and Zagreb.

65. SANCTUS REX STEPHANUS [40] PUGNAT CUM GYULA DUCE TRANSILVANO



³¹⁹Porro Beatus Stephanus, postquam regie celsitudinis coronam divinitus est adeptus,³²⁰ famosum et lucrosum bellum gessit contra avunculum suum nomine Gyulam, qui tunc temporis totius Ultra Silvam regni gubernacula possidebat.³²¹ Anno itaque Domini M-o II-o beatus rex Stephanus cepit Gyulam ducem cum uxore et duobus filiis suis et in Hungariam transmisit.³²² Hoc autem ideo fecit, quia sepiissime amonitus a beato rege Stephano nec ad fidem Christi conversus, nec ab inferenda Hungaris iniuria conquievit.³²³ Universum vero regnum eius latissimum et opulentissimum monarchie Hungarie adiunxit. Dicitur autem regnum illud Hungarice Erdeelw, quod irrigatur plurimis fluviis, in quorum arenis aurum colligitur et aurum terre illius optimum est.³²⁴

³¹⁹ Inh. In.: Middle-aged king with halo (Stephen), enthroned, holding orb with cross and long scepter.

³²⁰ There is a never ending dispute among historians concerning the date (and the insignia) of the coronation: Christmas 1000; 1 January 1001 or 1000, or 8 September, Nativity of Mary 1000. The last was recently argued by Wolfgang Husch-

65. KING ST. STEPHEN FIGHTS WITH GYULA, DUKE OF TRANSYLVANIA

³¹⁹Then, after he was awarded the crown of royal majesty by divine ordinance,³²⁰ the blessed Stephen waged a war of fame and of gain upon his uncle, by name Gyula, who at that time held sway over the whole country of Transylvania.³²¹ In the year of our Lord 1002, the blessed King Stephen took Duke Gyula captive with his wife and two sons and sent them to Hungary.³²² This he did, because Gyula, though admonished many times by the blessed King Stephen, neither would convert to the Christian faith nor would he rest from doing injury to the Hungarians.³²³ His entire realm, which was most wide and rich, was now joined to the kingdom of Hungary. This realm is called in Hungarian *Erdély*; it is watered by many streams, in whose sands gold is found, and the gold from that land is the best.³²⁴

ner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9–11. Jahrhundert)* 3 vols, here 1: pp. 497–500 (Hannover: Hahn, 2003).

³²¹ Gyula was the brother of Sarolt, Stephen I's mother. The Annals of Niederaltaich (MGH SSrG 4, p. 18) date the campaign to 1003, and not to 1002 as it reads in the next sentence.

³²² The names of two sons are recorded by Anon. as Bua and Buhna (chs. 24, 27, pp. 60–1; 64–5).

³²³ It does not mean that Gyula was a pagan, considering that Bulcsú and Gyula's father, named also Gyula were baptized in the Byzantine court and had invited a Greek monk, Hierotheos to Hungary, later consecrated bishop of "Turkia" in the 950's, as described by Ioannes Skylitzes, see John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, transl. J. Wortley with J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin, p. 231 (Cambridge: CUP, 2010). On the problem of the Orthodox mission to Hungary in the tenth century, see István Báán, "The metropolitanate of Tourkia: the organization of the Byzantine church in Hungary in the Middle Ages," in: *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950–1453: Beiträge zu einer table-ronde des XIX. International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen 1996*, Günter Prinzing, Maciej Salamon, eds., pp. 45–53 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1999).

³²⁴ On Erdély, see above, ch. 30, pp. 74–5, ch. 26, n. 167, pp. 64–5. The gold of Transylvania is also mentioned by Anon. ch. 25, p. 61, and testified by geographic names, like the Aranyos river (where 'arany' means 'gold'), first mentioned in 1075; see Paul Niedermaier, *Städte, Dörfer, Bauwerke. Studien zur Siedlungs- und Baugeschichte Siebenbürgens*. (Studia Transylvanica, 36), pp. 319–438. (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007).

66. TERTIUM BELLUM SANCTI REGIS STEPHANI CONTRA KEAN DUCEM



³²⁵[41] Post hec autem movit exercitum super Kean ducem Bulgarorum et Sclavorum, que gentes loca naturali situ munitissima inhabitant.³²⁶ Unde etiam multis laboribus et bellicis sudoribus predictum ducem vix tandem devicit et occidit et inestimabilem copiam thesaurorum et precipue in auro et gemmis ac pretiosis lapidibus accepit, et locavit ibi unum proavum suum nomine Zoltan,³²⁷ qui postea hereditavit illas partes Transilvanas et ideo vulgariter sic dici solet: Erdeelui Zoltan. Erat enim ille antiquissimus, qui vixerat usque tempora sancti regis et ideo voluit ipsum esse super gentes opulentas. Ex hac itaque gaza multiplici sanctus rex Stephanus plurimum locupletatus Albensem basilicam, quam ipse fundaverat, aureis altaribus, crucibus quoque et calicibus, indumentis etiam pon[42]tificialibus contextis auro purissimo et lapidibus pretiosissimis copiavit ac ditavit.³²⁸ Vasa quoque ministratoria et cetera utensilia eidem basilice necessaria, necnon et aliis ecclesiis

66. THE THIRD WAR OF KING ST. STEPHEN AGAINST DUKE KEAN

³²⁵After this he led his army against Kean, duke of the Bulgarians and Slavs whose people live in places most strongly fortified by their natural position.³²⁶ Wherefore it was only after much labor and sweat of battle that he at last conquered and killed the aforesaid duke, and the abundance of treasure which he acquired was beyond reckoning, especially in gold and gems and precious stones. He placed there one of his ancestors named Zoltán,³²⁷ who later inherited this region of Transylvania and is therefore commonly spoken of as Erdélyi Zoltán. He was a very aged man and had lived into the times of the saintly king, who therefore wished him to be lord over rich peoples. Out of this manifold treasure King St. Stephen richly endowed the basilica of Fehérvár, which he himself had founded, with golden altars, crosses and chalices, priestly vestments woven with finest gold and with the most precious stones.³²⁸ He presented with royal generosity to the same basilica and to other churches of God vessels and other things for use in services. Among other gifts which he made to the church of Fehérvár were two which are worthy

³²⁵ Inh. in: Bearded king (Stephen) in knightly armor with Lotharingian cross on the chest of his coat armor, holding orb and scepter.

³²⁶ Dated to the 1010s, Stephen I joined, probably not personally, the campaign of the Byzantine emperor Basileos II Bulgaroktonos (976–1025) against the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel/Samuil (980/997–1014), and his successors. Leodvin (or Liedvin), bishop of Biharea (c. 1050) mentioned two relics that originated from the Bulgarian booty. According to this interpretation the word “kean” would be an equivalent to the dignity “tsar”. Others suppose that Kean was the head of a Hungarian tribe.

³²⁷ While the name Zoltán/Zulta is known in the Árpád dynasty, this person, whose relations to Stephen are not known, not mentioned anywhere else, may have been a fictive figure of the historical tradition.

³²⁸ The collegiate chapter dedicated to the Holy Virgin was founded in 1018 (according to other opinions 1015). The description of the treasury is similar to the wording of the Greater Legend of St. Stephen (SRH 2: p. 386; cf. Gaşpar, in: CEMT 7).

Dei regali donavit largitate. Inter cetera vero dedit eidem Albensi ecclesie quedam donaria sempiternae memoriae digna, duo scilicet rationalia, quorum utrumque habebat oram contextam septuaginta quatuor marcis auri purissimi et lapidibus pretiosis,³²⁹ que Beatus Benedictus sancte Romane ecclesie pontifex ad preces Sancti Stephani regis tante auctoritatis privilegio insignivit, ut quicumque in celebrando missam eis uteretur, legitime posset regem inungere, coronare et gladio accingere.³³⁰ Et quia pecunia illius Gyule³³¹ fuit male acquisita, ideo ipsa ecclesia frequenter est passa incendium. In eadem autem ecclesia ipsum avunculum suum cum tota familia sua absque velle compulsi baptizari, sed postea honorifice tenuit, sicut patrem.³³² Regina vero Keisla, uxor sancti regis dictam ecclesiam aureis crucibus, fusoriis, tabulis, calicibus, gemmis et ornamentis ultra modum ditavit.³³³

³²⁹ A rationale, an episcopal ceremonial humeral, worn over the chasuble, probably given to a bishop and later perhaps to Fehérvár, seems to have been incorporated into the regalia and ended up after 1270 in Prague as part of the royal treasury. Gábor Thoroczkay, in: "A székesfehérvári rationalék. (A XIV. századi magyar krónikaszerkesztmény 66. fejezetének kritikájához)" [The rationals of Székesfehérvár. To the critique of chapter 66 of the fourteenth-century chronicle composition], *Századok* 138 (2004), pp. 413–432 identified such a vestment in the inventories of the cathedral of St Vitus in Prague, see Antonín Podlaha, Eduard Šittler, *Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis* [Church inventories of St Vitus in Prague: Their history and description], pp. V. (year 1354), XV. (year 1355) (Prague: Dědictví sv. Prokop, 1903).

³³⁰ Pope Benedict VIII (1012–24). There is no canon legal or other tradition that would empower the wearer of a certain vestment with coronation rights. That seems to have belonged in Hungary from the outset to the Archbishop of Esztergom, and has been confirmed by papal letters; see Josef Deér, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns*, pp. 199–200 (Vienna: Österr. Akademie d. Wiss., 1966), pp. 204–5 with full references. The statement here seems to claim rights for the Fehérvár chapter that was, in fact, the guardian of the regalia in Árpadian times. On the other hand, a pluviale, granted to Fehérvár by Queen Gisela did become transformed into the coronation mantle of Hungarian kings, probably in the late twelfth century, see Ernő Marosi, "The Székesfehérvár Chasuble of

to be eternally remembered, namely two scapularies the hems of which each were embroidered with seventy-four marks of purest gold and with precious stones;³²⁹ at the request of King St. Stephen the blessed Benedict, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, granted the privilege of such authority that whoever should wear these for the celebration of Mass should be rightfully empowered to anoint and crown the king and to gird him with a sword.³³⁰ And because the money of the aforesaid Gyula³³¹ was ill-gotten, that church many times suffered destruction by fire. In that same church king St. Stephen compelled his uncle to be baptized against his will with his whole family; but afterwards he treated him with honor, as if he were his father.³³² Queen Gisela, the wife of the saintly king, made gifts to this church beyond measure of golden crosses, vessels, tablets, chalices, precious stones and ornaments.³³³

King Saint Stephen and Queen Gisella,” in: *The coronation mantle of the Hungarian kings*, Tibor Kovács, ed., pp. 109–140 (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005).

³³¹ A mistake of the chronicler as he confused the names of Kean and Gyula. For divine punishment of “ill-gotten treasure” see Prov 10: 2. Cf. *The World of Gregory of Tours, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, Medieval and Early Modern Peoples*, Kathleen Mitchell & Ian N. Wood, eds., vol. 8, pp. 106–10 (Leiden: Brill, 2002) referring to Gregory’s *Historia* 4,48; 7, 35; 8, 3.

³³² According to Thietmar (*Chron.* 8, 4, MGH SSrG NS 9, p. 496) and the *Annales Hildesheimenses* (ad annum 1003, MGH SSrG 8, p. 29) Gyula left the country in 1018 and went to Bolesław, king of Poland; later his wife followed him with the permission of King Stephen I. For the debates about baptism and free will (especially Alcuin’s position), see Peter Cramer: *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, C.200–c.1150*, pp. 151–191. (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).

³³³ Queen Gisela was the daughter of the Bavarian duke, Henry (died 995), the sister of the future German king and emperor, St. Henry II (reigned 1002–24). She left Hungary probably together with Emperor Henry III in 1045, and died c. 1060 in the nunnery at Niedernburg, Passau as the abbess, venerated in Bavaria without an official canonization. A special prayer to her was authorized in 1975. On her gift of vestments, see below, n. 337, p. 122.

67. DE EDIFICATIONE TEMPLI
PER SANCTUM STEPHANUM REGEM
IN VETERI BUDA PRO CANONICIS



Deinde sanctus rex venit in civitatem, que Vetus Buda vocatur, una cum filio suo Sancto Emerico et regina. Et cum ibi non invenisset aliquod pium opus in Christo, in quo possit laudari Creator omnium, statim sanctissimus rex de thesauro predicti Kean, ducis Bulgarorum et Sclavorum, quem occiderat, cepit in medio civitatis edificare grande cenobium

in honore apostolorum Pe[43]tri et Pauli, ditando illud multis prediis et simili libertate Romane ecclesie fulciendo in memoriam et honorem curie Romane, quam corporaliter visitarat.³³⁴ Dum igitur edificaretur, magistri lapicide de Grecia ducti erant et sanctissimus rex cum regina ratione devotionis ibidem degebant. Regina autem cruces, tabulas et ornamenta procurabat. Quia vero illud grande opus inceptum multos annos conduxerat, ideo vivente Sancto Stephano rege illud cenobium non potuit consumari, sed volente Deo post multum temporis sanctissimus rex Ladizlaus, nepos eiusdem Beati Stephani,³³⁵ illud opus consumavit, ut scilicet possit adimplere votum proavi sui, sicut inferius plenius declarabitur.³³⁶ Consuetudo autem sancti regis Stephani maior ista fuit, quod omnes ecclesias, quas ipse fundaverat, in quolibet anno ad minus tribus vicibus visitabat. Et dum ad ipsas ecclesias devenisset, primo

³³⁴ There is no evidence for his having visited Rome, though his foundation in Rome is mentioned in the legends, (Legeda maior. 11, SRH 2: p. 386, Hartvic's Life, ibid. 419; cf. Berend in: Head, p. 186).

³³⁵ Of course, Ladislav was not a descendant of Stephen, whose only known son died in 1031. He was rather the grandson of Vazul, blinded on the order of King

67. KING ST. STEPHEN'S BUILDING OF THE CHURCH IN ÓBUDA FOR THE CANONS

Then the saintly king came to the city which is called Óbuda together with his saintly son Emeric and his queen. And since he found there no holy Christian building where praises could be rendered to the Creator of all things, the most saintly king immediately began the building of a great monastery in the centre of the city in honor of the apostles Peter and Paul from the treasure of the aforesaid Kean, duke of the Bulgarians and the Slavs, whom he had slain. He endowed it with many villages, and to the memory and honor of the Roman curia he invested it with the same privileges as those of that Roman church, which he had visited in person.³³⁴ For the building master masons were brought from Greece, and the most saintly king and his wife sojourned there for the purpose of devotion. The queen also made provision of crosses, tablets and ornaments. Since the great work which he had set in hand required many years, the monastery could not be finished during the lifetime of King St. Stephen; but the descendant of the blessed Stephen, the most saintly King Ladislas,³³⁵ after much time brought the work to completion by the will of God, so that the vow of his ancestor could be fulfilled, as will be more fully declared below.³³⁶ A major custom of King St. Stephen was that he visited at least three times in each year all the churches which he had founded. When he came to a church, he went first of all to each of its altars and offered up prayers at each. When he at last came out of the church, he went around the whole

Stephan I; see below ch. 69, pp. 126–9. Medieval Hungarian chronicles usually avoid or obfuscate this connection.

³³⁶ This foundation story may have been inserted into the older chronicle by Master Ákos, provost of Óbuda. Buda was founded after the Mongol invasion of 1241–42, hence the name Óbuda (that is Old Buda) appeared only after that date. The enumerated privileges are fictive based on the text of the Hartvic's *Life of St. Stephen* (SRH 2: p. 418, cf. Berend in: Head, p. 386). According to the *GpP* (2.18, p. 77) the church of Óbuda was founded by King Peter, dedicated to St. Peter. Later in the chronicle, in chapter 124 (pp. 232–3 below) its foundation is assigned to King Géza I. (1075–77).

ad omnia altaria pergebat et singulis singulas preces effundebat. Tandem exeundo totam ecclesiam illam circuibat et fracturas sive scissuras parietum ac tectorum perspicacibus oculis, et morose inspiciebat et statim remeliorari procurabat, nec a loco illius civitatis aut ville recedebat, nisi prius vidisset renovari. Quo experto regina Keisla, dum ad aliquas ecclesias in Hungaria devenisset, omnes apparatus in domo Domini existentes sibi presentari faciebat et renovanda tam in sindone quam in bysso omni anno renovabat. Filius autem ipsorum Beatus Emericus proprias vestes purpureas ante altare deponebat, pro altaribus induendis, sicut patet in ecclesiis regalibus usque modo. Pater vero sanctissimus bursam auream in lumbis gestabat refertam denariis puri argenti, et dum pauperes vidisset, mox ibi accedebat et propriis manibus eis providebat.³³⁷ Et ideo dextera misericors est in corpore exterius coram oculis Hungarie usque in hodiernum diem.³³⁸

68. INCIDENTIA

³³⁹Anno Domini M-o XX-o II-o in multis locis incendia multa et magna facta sunt, ingens etiam terre motus contigit. IIII-o Idus Maii decima hora [44] diei, sexta feria post Ascensionem Domini quasi duo soles visi sunt decimo Kalendas Iulii.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ There must have been an immense quantity of donations by the royal family to ecclesiastical institutions; the furnishing of churches by the king was prescribed by law (St. Stephen 2, 1, DRMH: 1, p. 9). Among the best known objects is the coronation mantle (see above n. 330, p. 118), and another chasuble, preserved until the French revolution in the treasury of St. Arnulph in Metz, originally donated by Stephen to Pope John XIX. Other objects were attributed to their donation by later real or fictive tradition, like in Bakonybél to Queen Gisela (Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Hungarica. Kódexek és nyomtatott könyvek Magyarországon 1526 előtt*. Vol. 3. No. 2017, p. 232). The so called *bursa* of St. Stephen is today in the Weltliche Schatzkammer, Vienna (see Péter Király, "Der sogenannte Beutel König Stephans I. von Ungarn," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 17 (1971), pp. 219–248.) See also the legends of St. Stephen (chs. 9 and 10, SRH 2: pp. 384–5; 414–5, cf. Berend in: Head p. 385).

³³⁸ The Holy Dexter, separated from the body at the canonization in Fehérvár, was first hidden in Bihar county where later a monastery was founded called Săniob (Szent-

building and noted with a careful and severe eye all breaks or cracks in the walls and roofs and at once gave instructions for their repair; nor did he depart the village or city until he had seen that the renovation was carried out. Following his example, Queen Gisela when she came to any church in Hungary caused all the furnishings in the house of the Lord to be shown to her, and whatever of silk or linen needed renewal every year she renewed. Their son also, the blessed Emeric, laid before the altar his own purple raiment that it might be used for the adornment of the altars, as may be seen till this day in the royal churches. His most saintly father used to carry at his waist a golden purse filled with pennies of pure silver, and if ever he saw poor people he would go up to them and with his own hands made provisions for them.³³⁷ And therefore that compassionate right hand is to be seen in the eyes of Hungary in bodily form until this present day.³³⁸

68. HAPPENINGS

³³⁹In the year of our Lord 1022 there were in many places many and great fires, and on the twelfth of May, in the tenth hour of the day, there was a great earthquake. On the twenty second of June, on the Friday after Ascension Day, there seemed to be two suns in the sky.³⁴⁰

jobb, 'Holy Dexter') by King Ladislas in 1084, and an official feast of its invention was established for the 30th of May. Later it was transferred to Fehérvár, but after its Ottoman occupation (1543) the fate of the relic is unknown. At some point it came to Ragusa (Dubrovnik) whence Maria Theresa acquired it and in 1771 returned it to Hungary; today it is on display in the Basilica of St. Stephen in Budapest. The history of the relic is briefly summarized in János M. Bak, "Sankt Stefans Armreliquie im Ornat König Wenzels von Ungarn," in: *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, Peter Scheibert and Peter Classen, eds. pp. 175–88, here pp. 181–2 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964).

³³⁹ Decorated in.: Two radiating sun-dials with 'human' face in the upper part ("two suns in the sky").

³⁴⁰ In the Annals of Niederaltaich (*Ann. Altabenses* pp. 17–8) the earthquake is noted and strange celestial events are recorded for several years. The given dates do not match the ecclesiastical calendar; they would be correct for 1021.

69. DE MORTE SANCTISSIMI EMERICI DUCIS ET DE ORBATIONE OCULORUM VAZUL



³⁴¹Postquam autem *magnificavit Dominus misericordiam suam*³⁴² beato rege Stephano ver-
tendo dorsa regum in fugam *a facie gladii*³⁴³ eius et dominio
eius *principatus atque potestates* subiciendo omnium exterarum
nationum circumadiacentium, deliberavit sanctus rex Stepha-
nus, et firmiter statuit, ut om-
nibus pompis mundane glorie
calcatis et temporali<s> regni
dyademate deposito solius
Dei servitio semetipsum man-

ciparet et ab exterioribus curis expeditus contemplativam vitam
tranquillam pacem perageret,³⁴⁴ coronam vero regie celsitudinis
filio suo, duci Emerico sanctissimis moribus divinitus instructo se
daturum disposuit. Erat enim Beatus Emericus in primevo adole-
scentie flore, supra communem naturam hominum divino munere
sublimatus, iustitia, prudentia, fortitudine, temperantia, sapientia,
scientia, mansuetudine, misericordia, benignitate, largitate, humi-
litate et patientia armatus, ceterisque catholicis atque politicis vir-
tutibus adornatus,³⁴⁵ similiter et Sanctus Stephanus pater suus.³⁴⁶

³⁴¹ Hist. in.: Haloed king, naked in bed (Stephen) raising his hand addressing three
youngish men in "ducal" cap (Andrew, Béla, and Levente)

³⁴² Lk 1, 58.

³⁴³ Is 21: 15; 45: 1: and many other places.

³⁴⁴ The *topos* of a Christian ruler retiring from the world is known mainly from the
Byzantine world; see Franz Hermann Tinnefeld, "Rituelle und politische Aspekte
des Herrschertodes im späten Byzanz," in: Lothar Kolmer (ed.), *Der Tod des Mäch-
tigen. Kult und Kultur des Todes spätmittelalterlicher Herrscher*, pp. 217–228 (Pa-
derborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1997) see also below ch. 159, pp. 296–7. Closest
to Hungary was the example of the Serbian ruler Stepan Nemanja (1065–96).

69. DEATH OF THE MOST HOLY PRINCE EMERIC AND THE PUTTING OUT OF VAZUL'S EYES

³⁴¹After the *Lord had expanded His mercy*³⁴² towards the blessed King Stephen by causing kings to turn their backs in flight at *from before his sword*³⁴³ and by making *principalities and powers* in all surrounding nations subject to his dominion, King St. Stephen resolved and firmly decided that he would abjure all pomp of worldly glory and lay down the crown of temporal rule, and that he would devote himself only to the service of God, and freed from all outward cares he would lead in peace and tranquility a life of contemplation.³⁴⁴ He decided to give the crown of his royal majesty to his son, Prince Emeric, who was instructed in the most holy ways of godliness. For the blessed Emeric was now in the first flower of his youth, raised by divine grace above the common nature of men, armed with justice, prudence, fortitude, temperance, wisdom, learning, docility, compassion, kindness, generosity, humility, and patience, and adorned with all other catholic and politic virtues,³⁴⁵ as was also St. Stephen, his father.³⁴⁶ But when the most

³⁴⁵ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, R. J. Batten ed., Volume 34, Charity: 2a2ae. 23–33, p. 126. (Cambridge: CUP, 2006). Around 1170, Alan de Lille recognized these two sorts of virtues (*De virtutibus et de vitiis et de donis Spiritus Sancti* 1.1–3, ed. Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, 6 vols., 6: pp. 45–92., here 50, 58, Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, Gembloux: Duculot, 1942–60), which became generally accepted thereafter. Cf. István Bejczy, “Concept of Political Virtue in the Thirteenth Century,” in: *Princely Virtues in the Middle Ages, 1200–1500*, István Bejczy, Cary J. Nederman, eds., (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 9–32.

³⁴⁶ This catalogue of virtues seems to be based partly on the Admonitions of St. Stephen to his son, Prince Emeric *Sancti Stephani regis primi Hungariae Libellus de institutione morum*, László Havas, ed., Debrecen: Debreceni Egeyetem, 2004. On it see Jenő Szűcs “The Admonitions of St. Stephen and his state,” *New Hungarian Quarterly* 29, no. 112 (1988), pp. 89–97 with English translation of he text, by J. R. Sweeney and J. M. Bak, *ibid.* pp. 98–105. Some passages remind of the Greater Legend of St. Stephen and the Letter of St. Paul to the Galatians (5: 22–3); it is very similar to the virtues of St. Ladislás, enumerated in this chronicle (ch. 131, pp. 244–5, below). It is important that chastity is missing here from this series of virtues, stressed in the legend of St. Emeric (written c. 1109–16 or later, SRH 2: pp. 454–56; with English translation in CEMT 7, forthc.)

Cum itaque sanctissimus pater sanctissimo filio curam administrationis et gubernandi regni sollicitudinem intenderet committere, beatus dux Emericus propria^a morte preventus est.³⁴⁷ Flevit autem eum sanctus rex Stephanus et universa Hungaria inconsolabiliter [45] *planctu magno*³⁴⁸ valde. Tanta vero doloris acerbitate sanctus rex Stephanus exacerbatus in gravissimam incidit infirmitatem et post multos dies vix qualemcumque vite reparationem recepit, sed pristinae sanitati nunquam plene potuit restitui. Nam et pedum doloribus urgebatur³⁴⁹ et tristitia ac gemitibus afficiebatur, presertim propterea, quia nullus videbatur de consanguineis suis ydoneus ad hoc, ut eo mortuo regnum in fide Christi conservaret. Pronior etenim erat gens Hungarica ritui paganismo inclinari, quam fidei Christiane.³⁵⁰ Interim vero viribus corporis cepit destitui et langore gravissimo se gravatum sentiens misit festinanter nuncium, scilicet Budam, filium Egiruth, qui Vazul patruelis sui filium, quem recluserat rex propter iuvenilem lasciviam et stultitiam, ut corrigeretur, de carcere Nitrie educeret et ad se duceret, ut eum, antequam moretetur, regem constitueret.³⁵¹ Audiens autem hoc Keisla regina iniit consilium cum Buda viro nephando et festinantissime misit nuncium nomine Sebus, filium ipsius Buda ad carcerem, in quo Vazul detinebatur. Sebus itaque preveniens nuncium regis effodit oculos Vazul³⁵² et concavitates aurium eius plumbo obturavit et recessit in Bohemiam.³⁵³ Post hunc autem veniens nuncius regis vidit Vazul

^a propria] *recte* prepropera *var. Mss*

³⁴⁷ According to the *Annals of Hildesheim* (MGH SSrG 36, p. 36) the prince died in a hunting accident in 1031.

³⁴⁸ Gen 50: 100.

³⁴⁹ Even though a similar motif appears, among others in the *Vita Caroli Magni* by Einhard (MGH SSrG 25, p. 27), this reference to a private matter suggests intimate knowledge by the early author of the chronicle's precursors.

³⁵⁰ Uprisings against the new faith and the Christian monarchy occurred in 1046 and 1060; see below, chs. 82–4 and 95 (pp. 154–61, 182–3). The chronicle projects the civil wars after Stephen I's death to a Pagan-Christian perspective.

³⁵¹ This part of the chronicle is clearly attempting to legitimize the descendants of Vazul who became the royal line from the mid-eleventh century onward. Hence the alleged intent of St. Stephen to design Vazul, the son of Stephen I's uncle, Michael, as his successor.

Holy Father prepared to commit to his most holy son the care of administration and concern for the governance of the kingdom, the sudden death of the blessed Prince Emeric prevented him.³⁴⁷ With *great lamentation*³⁴⁸ King St. Stephen and all Hungary wept for him inconsolably. Overcome by the deep bitterness of grief, King St. Stephen was struck with great infirmity; and though after many days the vital forces were in some measure restored, never did he fully regain his former health. For he was laid low with pains in his feet,³⁴⁹ and he was afflicted with sorrow and groaning, especially because among his kinsmen he could see none fit to be able after his death to preserve the kingdom in the faith of Christ. For the Hungarian people were more inclined to pagan rites than to the Christian faith.³⁵⁰ Meanwhile his bodily strength began to fail, and feeling himself overcome with a great lassitude he sent in haste a messenger, viz. Buda, the son of Egiruth, charging him that Vazul, the son of his uncle, should be taken from the prison of Nitra where the king had shut him up that he might amend his youthful wantonness and folly, and should be brought to him in order that before his death he might appoint him king.³⁵¹ Hearing this, Queen Gisela contrived a plan with Buda, who was an evil man, and in the greatest haste she sent a messenger, whose name was Sebus, son of that same Buda, to the prison in which Vazul was held. Arriving there before the messenger of the king, Sebus put out Vazul's eyes³⁵² and filled the cavities of his ears with lead, and fled to Bohemia.³⁵³ When after him the king's messenger came, he found Vazul with his eyes put out and in this state he brought

³⁵² Blinding was intended to make the person ineligible to rule; it was frequently done in Byzantium, but also elsewhere, so e.g. in Bohemia (Duke Jaromir) and Poland (Zbigniew, half-brother of Boleslaw III). In Hungary, a century later the brother of King Coloman and his son were blinded for this reason (see below ch. 150, pp. 276–9). In general, see John Lascaratos and S. Marketos, "The Penalty of Blinding during Byzantine Times," *Documenta Ophthalmologica*, 81 (1992), pp. 133–144; Genevieve Bührer-Thierry, " 'Just Anger' or 'Vengeful Anger'? The Punishment of Blinding in the Early Medieval West," in: *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, Barbara Rosenwein, ed., pp. 75–91. (Ithaca, N.Y., London: Cornell University Press, 1998).

³⁵³ For the fate of Buda and Sebus, see below ch. 72, pp. 134–5.

oculis orbatum, in eisdem oculis vulneribus duxit ad regem. Quem sanctus rex Stephanus videns tam miserabiliter destructum in nimias erupit lacrimas, sed inpediente egritudinis molestia debitam penam malefactoribus inferre non potuit. Convocatis itaque filiis Calvi Ladizlai patruī sui, scilicet Andrea, Beela et Leventa, consuluit eis, ut quanto citius possent, fugerent, ut sic sibi salutem et corporum suorum servarent integritatem. Illi igitur salubri consilio sancti regis acquiescentes a facie malorum et dolorum in Bohemiam fugerunt.³⁵⁴

70. BEATUS REX STEPHANUS MORITUR ET ALBE TUMULATUR

³⁵⁵[46] Beatus autem rex Stephanus sanctitate et gratia plenus XL-o VI-o anno regni sui in festo Assumptionis beatissime Marie semper Virginis a presenti seculo nequam eripitur³⁵⁶ et sanctorum angelorum consortio adiungitur. Sepultus est autem in basilica Albensi, quam ipse in honore sanctissime genitricis Dei semper Virginis Marie construxerat, ubi multa signa et miracula fiunt intervenientibus meritis eiusdem sanctissimi regis Stephani ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen.³⁵⁷ Confestim quoque totius *cythara* Hungarie *versa est*

³⁵⁴ Here, again, the author is concerned with legitimizing the later royal line. Probably that was reason why a crime story was forged explaining how Vazul failed to become king. In this interpretation the "German queen" is charged with the plot, and Stephen is described as a crippled ill man; see János M. Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*. Proceedings of a conference held at King's College London, April 1995, A.J. Duggan, ed., pp. 223–33, here 224 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997). Additionally, in order to present the Vazul-line in more favorable light, his sons, the kings Andrew I, Béla I and Prince Levente were mentioned as the sons of Ladislas the Bald (a brother of Vazul), thus distancing them from a mutilated person. The sons probably fled fearing the anger of King Stephen, and were not advised by him to do so. Stephen probably designated Peter Orseolo, but Vazul, the oldest living male member of the princely family, refused his consent; see also the *Annales Altabenses*, p. 24.

³⁵⁵ Hist. in.: Haloed king (Stephen) placed in coffin by two persons; several bishops, the queen (Gisela), and other mourners standing by.

him to the king. When King St. Stephen saw him in such miserable plight, he broke into a flood of tears; but the burden of his illness prevented him to inflict upon the evil-doers the punishment which they merited. Having summoned the sons of his cousin Ladislav the Bald, namely Andrew, Béla and Levente, he counseled them to flee as speedily as possible that they might preserve for themselves unharmed their lives and bodies. They took the prudent advice of the saintly king and fled from the face of evil and sorrow into Bohemia.³⁵⁴

70. BLESSED KING STEPHEN DIES AND IS ENTOMBED AT FEHÉRVÁR

³⁵⁵In the forty-sixth year of his reign, on the feast day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed King Stephen, full of holiness and grace, was delivered from this wicked world³⁵⁶ and joined the company of the holy angels. He is buried in the basilica of Fehérvár which he himself had built in honor of the most holy mother of God, the Virgin Mary; and here through the merits of this most holy king many signs and miracles take place to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.³⁵⁷ Straightway in all Hungary *the harp was turned* to mourn-

³⁵⁶ Cf. Gal 1: 4; appropriately quoted here, as these words feature in the *lectio* of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin.

³⁵⁷ Gal 1: 5. King Stephen died on 15 August 1038, in fact in the forty-first year of his reign. Pointing to the coincidence of the Marian holiday may have been motivated by the king's special devotion to the Virgin mentioned in his Greater Legend (SRH 2: p. 385; trans. Cristian Gașpar, in: CEMT 7), see: Gábor Tüskés, "Marianische Landespatrone in Europa unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Ungarns," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 25 (2002), pp. 77–103. Most of the cathedrals founded by him were dedicated to Her. In the case of Fehérvár he probably followed the example of Charlemagne and his foundation in Aachen (see Josef Deér, "Aachen und die Herrschersitze der Arpaden," in: Idem, *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Peter Classen, ed., pp. 372–423 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), (Vorträge und Forschungen 21). Fehérvár did not become the traditional burial site of the kings until the time of King Coloman.

in luctum,³⁵⁸ et omnis populus regni, tam nobiles quam ignobiles, simul in unum dives et pauper planxerunt super mortem sanctissimi regis, piissimi patris pupillorum lacrimis uberrimis et ululatibus plurimis. Iuvenes et virgines pre tristitia et merore scalidis induti per triennium choream non duxerunt et omne genus musicorum, delinitiva dulcisona siluerunt. Planxeruntque eum planctu cordis fidissimi eratque planctus magnus et inconsolabilis. At regina Keysla cum Buda satellite scelerum, Petrum Alamanum vel potius Venetum, fratrem regine regem preficere statuerunt, hoc intendentes, ut regina Keysla motus sue voluntatis pro libitu suo posset complere et regnum Hungarie amissa libertate Teutonicis subderetur sine impedimento. Villelmus autem pater Petri regis fuit frater Sigismundi regis Burgundiorum, sed post interemptionem Sancti Sigismundi venerat ad imperatorem, quem imperator collocavit Veneciis et dederat ei sororem suam nomine Gertrud in uxorem, de qua genuit Keyslam reginam. Mortua autem Gertrud, Villelmus duxit in uxorem sororem sancti regis Stephani, de qua genuit Petrum regem.³⁵⁹

71. DE SEVITIA PETRI REGIS

³⁶⁰[47] Postquam autem Petrus factus est rex,³⁶¹ omnem regie serenitatis benignitatem abiecit et Teutonico furore³⁶² seviens nobiles Hungarie aspernabatur, bona terre *superbo oculo et insatiabili cor-*

³⁵⁸ The wording of his mourning has Biblical sources like Job 30: 31. etc. The author of the *GpP* (1. 16, p. 71) used very similar words for the mourning of Boleslaw I (1.16); he may have known the old chronicle. They also show up in the Legend of St. Ladislav (SRH 2: p. 522; with English translation in CEMT 7) most likely taken from the same source.

³⁵⁹ A totally confused description of the relations. The Venetian doge, Otto II Orseolo married the sister of Stephen I c. 1009, who had a son, Peter, the future king (1038–41 and 1044–46), and a daughter, later the wife of Adalbert, margrave of Austria. Peter fled to Hungary with his mother and sister after a rebellion in 1023 in Venice, and remained at Stephen's court. Queen Gisela's mother, named also Gisela (died 1006) was the daughter of Conrad the Peaceful, king of Burgundy (925–93). St. Sigismund died in 524 and was the patron saint of Burgundy. Queen Gisela's father was Henry II the Quarrelsome, duke of Bavaria (975–76, 985–95).

ing,³⁵⁸ and all the people of the kingdom, the noble and the common, the rich and the poor, mourned the death of the most holy king, the most loving father of the orphans, weeping together with most copious tears and loud lamentations. Because of their sadness and grief, the youths and maidens clothed themselves in mourning, nor did they dance for the space of three years; and the sweet and melodious voices all kinds of music were silent. They mourned him with the mourning of a faithful heart, and their mourning was great and inconsolable. But Queen Gisela together with Buda, her assistant in crime, determined to appoint as king the queen's brother, Peter the German or rather Venetian, with the intention that Queen Gisela might then according to her desire fulfill all the impulses of her will, and that the kingdom of Hungary might lose its liberty and be subjected without hindrance to the dominion of the Germans. For William, the father of Peter, was the brother of Sigismund, king of the Burgundians; but after the murder of St. Sigismund he had come to the emperor, who had appointed him to rule over the Venetians and had given him his sister Gertrud to wife, by whom he begot Queen Gisela. After Gertrud's death William took to wife the sister of King St. Stephen, by whom he begot King Peter.³⁵⁹

71. KING PETER'S CRUELTY

³⁶⁰After Peter had been made king,³⁶¹ he cast aside all goodness of royal serenity and raged with Teutonic fury,³⁶² despising the nobles of Hungary and devoured *with insatiable heart* casting *his proud*

³⁶⁰ Inh. In.: Helmeted warrior in jupon (Peter) holding a crown in his hand.

³⁶¹ In 1038 AD.

³⁶² A literary topos, based on Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.256, widely used in medieval narrative sources; see Wolfgang Giese, "Rex Ruffe, furoris Teutonici decor! Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas Kriegsführung in Italien, eine Wiederauferstehung des furor teutonicus?" in: *Sine ira et studio. Militär-historische Studien zur Erinnerung an Hans Schmidt*, Uta Lingren, Karl Schnith, Jakob Seibert eds., pp. 41–50 (Kallmünz/Opf.: Lassleben, 2001).

*de*³⁶³ cum Teutonicis beluina feritate rugientibus et cum Latinis³⁶⁴ yrundinum garrulitate murmurantibus³⁶⁵ devorabat, munitiones, presidia et castella Teutonicis et Latinis custodienda tradebat. Erat enim ipse Petrus nimium lascivus, nullusque eo tempore tutus esse poterat de pudicitia uxoris sue vel filie seu sororis virginitate <propter> insultus satellitum regis, qui eas inpune violabant. Videntes igitur principes Ungarie mala gentis sue, que contra Deum eis inferebantur, communicato consilio rogaverunt regem, ut preciperet suis a tam detestabili opere desistere. Rex autem faustu superbie inflatus pestiferum preconcepti veneni fetorem in propatulum effudit, dicens: Si aliquamdiu sanus fuero, omnes iudices, tam clarissimos et spectabiles quam pedaneos, centuriones ac villicos³⁶⁶ omnesque principes et potestates in regno Hungarie Teutonicos constituam, et terram eius hospitibus implebo et eam universaliter in potestatem Teutonicorum redigam. Et dicebat: Hoc nomen Hungaria derivatum est ab angaria,³⁶⁷ et ipsi debent angariari. Hec itaque fuerunt fomenta discordie inter Petrum regem et Hungaros.

³⁶³ Ps 100: 5.

³⁶⁴ Here the '*Latini*' could mean Italians who joined him from Venice. However, in medieval Hungary all people speaking a neo-Latin language (Walloons, Frenchmen, &c.) were referred to as *Latini*.

³⁶⁵ See "Notitia seculi," in *Die Schriften des Alexander von Roes*. Herbert Grundmann, Hermann Heimpel, eds., pp. 84–86 (Weimar: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1949), (Deutsches Mittelalter - Kritische Studentexte der MGH), who mentions *garrulitas* and *clamor* in respect of the French. See also Hans Walther, "Scherz und Ernst in der Völker- und Stämme-Charakteristik mittellateinischer Verse," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 41 (1959), pp. 263–301.

eyes,³⁶³ together with the Germans, who roared like wild beasts, and the Italians³⁶⁴ who chattered and twittered like swallows,³⁶⁵ the wealth of the land. The fortified places, strongholds, and castles he handed over to the custody of the Germans and Italians. Peter himself was exceedingly lascivious, and no one could be secure of neither the chastity of his wife nor the virginity of his daughter or sister from the assault of the king's minions, who violated them with impunity. When the magnates of Hungary saw what godless evils were inflicted upon their people against the will of God, they asked the king by common counsel to give instructions to his men to desist from such abominations. But the king was blown up with pride and he voided openly the foul and noxious poison of his soul, saying: "So long as I live, I shall entrust the offices of all judges, the most eminent and exalted as well as the most lowly, of the centurions and village reeves,³⁶⁶ as well as the men of rank and power in the whole kingdom of Hungary to Germans, and I shall fill the land with foreigners, and I shall give it wholly into the power of the Germans." And he said: "This name Hungary comes from servitude,³⁶⁷ and they themselves shall be servants." Such were the sources of discord between King Peter and the Hungarians.

³⁶⁶ The chronicler here uses Roman legal terms (*iudices spectabiles, pedaneos*), so their translation is difficult. Centurions as heads of serving populations are mentioned in eleventh-century Hungarian laws (DRMH 1: pp. 16–17 and 31), and so are village reeves (ibid. pp. 3, 57, 60). Cf. Kapitányfi "Römisch-rechtliche Terminologie," p. 359.

³⁶⁷ The word play is based on the Greek word *angaria* that survived in the language of the Roman law, meaning "service, pay, tax burden." It has, of course, nothing to do with the name of the Hungarians.

72. DE FUGA PETRI ET DE ELECTIONE ABE



³⁶⁸ [48] Anno igitur regni Petri tertio³⁶⁹ principes Hungarorum et milites consilio episcoporum convenerunt adversus Petrum regem et sollicitè querebant, si aliquem de regali progenie in regno tunc invenire possent, qui ad gubernandum regnum esset ydoneus et eos a tyrannide Petri liberaret. Cumque neminem talem in regno invenire potuissent,³⁷⁰ elegerunt de semetipsis quendam comitem nomine Abam, sororium sancti regis Stephani et eum super se regem constituerunt.³⁷¹ Aba

vero congregato Hungarorum exercitu contra Petrum regem processit preliaturus. Petrus autem rex videns se Hungarorum auxilio destitutum, vehementer expavescens transfugit in Bavariam Herici regis Teutonicorum adiutorium imploraturus.³⁷² Petro itaque per fugam de manibus Hungarorum elapso Ungari sceleratissimum Budam barbatum, *omnium malorum incentorem*,³⁷³ cuius consilio Petrus Ungariam afflixerat, in frustra concidentes interfecerunt et duorum filiorum suorum oculos effoderunt. Sebus autem qui oculos Vazul eruerat, confractis manibus et pedibus peremerunt.³⁷⁴ Quosdam vero lapidibus obruentes, alios autem in manganis ferreis vastantes occiderunt. Aba vero regali potestate sublimatus consecratus est in regem.³⁷⁵ Omnes autem constitutiones et exactiones,

³⁶⁸ Inh. In.: Full figure of warrior in leather jupon with sword holding a crown in his hand (Aba).

³⁶⁹ That is, in 1041 AD.

³⁷⁰ King Stephen's only known son, Emerich, predeceased his father (see above, ch. 69) and his nephews in the second grade had fled the country (see *ibid.*).

72. FLIGHT OF PETER AND ELECTION OF ABA

³⁶⁸Therefore in the third year of Peter's reign³⁶⁹ the magnates of the Hungarians and the nobles leagued themselves together on the advice of the bishops against King Peter, and considered anxiously whether they could find in the kingdom anyone of royal birth who would be fit to govern the kingdom and to free them from Peter's tyranny. Since they could find no such person in the kingdom,³⁷⁰ they chose from among themselves a certain *ispán* named Aba, the brother-in-law of king St. Stephen, and they appointed him to be king over them.³⁷¹ Having gathered an army of Hungarians, Aba went forth to do battle against King Peter. Finding himself without help from the Hungarians, King Peter was seized with a great fear and fled to Bavaria, intending to beseech help from Henry, king of the Germans.³⁷² Peter thus escaped by flight from the hands of the Hungarians, but they seized that most wicked, bearded Buda, the *promoter of all evil*,³⁷³ by whose counsel Peter had afflicted Hungary, and they killed him by cutting him to pieces, and they put out the eyes of his two sons. They also killed Sebus, who had put out the eyes of Vazul, by breaking his hands and feet.³⁷⁴ Some they stoned and others they beat to death with iron rods. Aba was raised to royal power and was consecrated as king.³⁷⁵ All the enactments and exactions which King Peter had established according to his custom, King Aba revoked. In the carrying out of these matters three of the magnates of the kingdom had a great part. One of

³⁷¹ Aba may have been the husband of King Stephen's sister, and had served as count palatine under his brother-in-law. He was the founder of the Aba kindred.

³⁷² Henry III, king of the Germans (1039–56, from 1046 emperor).

³⁷³ 2 Macc: 4:1.

³⁷⁴ For Buda and Sebus see above (ch. 69, pp. 126–7). The death of "margrave" Sebus is recorded in the Annals of Niederaltaich (*Annales Altabenses maiores*, MGH SSrG 4, p. 28) for the year 1039 and Buda's fate *ibid.* p. 25. These annals were the most important contemporary source used by the author of this part of the chronicle for the years 1039–46 or even till 1063.

³⁷⁵ Around September 1041.

quas Petrus rex secundum consuetudinem suam statuerat, Aba rex in irritum revocavit. In hiis autem rebus gerendis tres de principibus regni precipui fuerunt. Unus vocabatur Wisce, secundus Toyzlau, tertius vero Pezli,³⁷⁶ qui libertatem gentis sue querebant et regnum regali semini restituere fideliter nitebantur.

73. In tertio vero anno regis Abe³⁷⁷ Petrus cum Herrico rege Teutonicorum descendit cum exercitu magno contra Abam regem. Rex igitur Aba audiens Petrum ab Hungaris derelictum et ab Herrico [49] rege Teutonicorum benigne susceptum, anno Domini M-o XL-o II-o misit nuncios ad cesarem, ut perquireret, an inimicaretur ei pro eo, quod Petrum de regno expulerat, an etiam pacem stabilem cum eo posset habere. Cui cesar in respondendo se inimicum esse ostendit dicens: Quia meos iniuriis laces<i>vit, quid vel quantum possum, ipse sentiet. Rex Aba hiis auditis intellexit, quod cesar intenderet Petro regnum restituere. Inflammatus ira congregato exercitu magno invasit Austriam et Bavariam, et ex utraque parte Danubii fluminis bipartitis alis pugnatorum fortium, *percutit eos in ore gladii*.³⁷⁸ Tulit itaque spolia eorum et plurimos captivos ex eis secum trahens a flumine, quod vocatur Traysama, pertransivit captivando usque civitatem Tulnam, in qua pernoctavit. Factum est autem hoc secunda feria³⁷⁹ a crepusculo usque noctem. Mane autem facto cum innumerabili multitudine captivorum in Hungariam reversi sunt gaudentes. Post hec misit bellatores fortes in Karinthiam, qui plurimos captivos receperunt et in Hungariam redierunt. Gothfridus autem Austrie marchio³⁸⁰ circa Petoviam³⁸¹ insultum faciens super eos, eorum spolia fertur abstulisse. Tunc enim Austria non duces, sed habebat marchiones.³⁸²

³⁷⁶ Tojszló (Ztoizla) and Pecsili (Pezili) are mentioned in the Annals of Niederaltaich (p. 26)

³⁷⁷ The third year would in fact be 1044, though the chronicle continues with events of 1042.

³⁷⁸ Here and several times below more or less verbatim: Ex 17: 13, Ios 10: 28, &c.; see chs. 105, p. 134, p. 165, pp. 200–1, pp. 248–9, pp. 308–9.

them was called Visca, the second Tojszló, and the third Pecsili;³⁷⁶ they desired the liberty of their people, and they strove faithfully to restore the kingdom of the royal seed.

73. In the third year of King Aba's reign,³⁷⁷ Peter together with Henry, king of the Germans, came down with a great army against King Aba. Hearing that Peter had been kindly received by Henry, king of the Germans after he had been deserted by the Hungarians, King Aba in the year of our Lord 1042 sent messengers to the emperor, asking him whether he looked upon him as an enemy because he had expelled Peter from his kingdom, or whether there could be lasting peace between them. By his reply the emperor declared himself an enemy, for he said: "Because he who has injured my friends, shall see what I am able to do." When he heard this, King Aba understood that the emperor intended to restore the kingdom to Peter. Inflamed with anger, he assembled a great army and marched into Austria and Bavaria. He divided his brave host into two parts, which he placed on either side of the Danube, and he *scattered the enemy by the edge of the sword*.³⁷⁸ He took much booty from them and made many prisoners, and then advanced from the river which is called Traisen, subduing all in his way, as far as the city of Tulln, where he spent the night. This took place on a Monday,³⁷⁹ between dawn and dusk. When day broke, with an innumerable multitude of captives they returned rejoicing to Hungary. After this he sent brave warriors into Carinthia, who made many captives and then returned to Hungary. Godfrey, the margrave of Austria,³⁸⁰ is said to have fallen upon them near Pitten³⁸¹ and to have carried away their spoils. For at that time there were not dukes in Austria, but margraves.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ Dated 15 February 1042 by the Annals of Niederaltaich (p. 42).

³⁸⁰ Godfrey of Wels-Lambach was margrave of Carinthia 1040–50.

³⁸¹ Recently scholars suggest Pitten rather than Ptuj (Pettau) for 'Petovia'.

³⁸² Austria had margraves till 1156.

74. Eo autem tempore cesar Pasca Domini Colonie celebravit,³⁸³ et cum principibus suis consiliatus est, qualiter regno suo iniuste illatam ab Hungaris iniuriam deberet vindicare. Qui concorditer consulerunt ei, ut Hungaros, qui sine causa regnum suum hostiliter irruperant, armis invaderet et captivos suos ab eorum servitute liberaret. Movit itaque expeditionem ingentem et consilio Baratzlai ducis Bohemorum³⁸⁴ ex aquilonari parte Danubii venit ad confinium Hungarie. Legati vero Hungarorum promiserant cesari, quod Hungari in omnibus starent ad mandatum eius, nisi quia Petrum in regem non susciperent, quod tamen cesar summo opere perficere affectabat. Obligatus enim erat Petro promissione, quod ei regnum restitueret. Hungari vero nul[50]atenus consenserunt et missis muneribus, data quoque fide, quod captivos Teutonicorum abire permetterent, cesar rediit^a festinanter contra insultus Gothfridi ducis Lotingorum, filii ducis Gozzilonis.³⁸⁵

75. ADVENTUS CESARIS IN HUNGARIAM CONTRA ABAM

³⁸⁶Sequenti anno³⁸⁷ Aba rex missis legatis ad cesarem, que pacis sunt, querebat promittens captivorum dimissionem, quos habebat. Eo-



74. At that time the emperor celebrated Easter at Cologne,³⁸³ and he consulted with his princes how he should avenge the injury unjustly done to his kingdom by the Hungarians. They advised him with one accord that he should attack the Hungarians, who had hostilely broken into his kingdom, with force and should liberate from slavery the prisoners whom they had taken. He therefore set on foot a very large army, and on the advice of Břetislav, duke of the Czechs,³⁸⁴ he approached the boundaries of Hungary from the northern bank of the Danube. Envoys from the Hungarians promised the emperor that the Hungarians would in all things do his will, except that they would not receive Peter as their king; but this it was which the emperor was most determined to bring about by all means, since he had bound himself to Peter by a promise to restore the kingdom to him. The Hungarians would in no way agree to this; but after they had sent presents and pledged their faith that they would allow the German captives to depart, the emperor hurriedly returned to meet the attacks of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, son of Duke Gozzilo.³⁸⁵

75. THE EMPEROR'S COMING INTO HUNGARY AGAINST ABA

³⁸⁶In the following year³⁸⁷ King Aba sent ambassadors to the emperor to inquire what the conditions of peace were, promising to return the captives whom he held, and for those whom he could not return, to make fair compensation. The emperor, however, was

^a *cesar rediit bis*

³⁸³ 11 April 1042. It counted always an important political event where the court celebrated the great church feasts, like Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, and annals and chronicles usually record this.

³⁸⁴ Břetislav was duke of the Czechs 1034–55.

³⁸⁵ Gozelo I was duke of Lower and Upper Lorraine (died in 1044), his son was Godfrey II (1036–69).

³⁸⁶ Hist. in: Messenger handing over a letter to enthroned ruler (Henry).

³⁸⁷ In 1043 AD.

rum autem, quos reddere non poterat, condignam compensationem. Cesar vero noluit componere, donec in Bavariam veniret, ut qui per Hungaros iniuste lesi fuerant, compositioni pacis interessent. Venit ergo cesar ad terminos Hungarie et in crastinum expugnare disposuit obstacula, quibus Hungari fluvium Rabcha³⁸⁸ concluderant. Interim vero a legatis Abe regis rogatus est cesar, ut competentem terminum figeret, in quo omnes captivos ei remitteret et donaria insuper ei donaret. Cesar itaque allectus muneribus et aliis gravioribus negotiis prepeditus [51] rediit Bizancium, quod est opidum Burgundie. Ex hinc itaque rex Aba securitate accepta factus est insolens et cepit crudeliter seuire in Ungaros. Arbitrabatur enim, ut omnia communia essent dominis cum servis, sed et iusiurandum violasse pro nichilo reputabat.³⁸⁹ Nobiles enim regni contempnens, habens semper cum rusticis et ignobilibus commune. Hungari vero nobiles nolentes ei id sustinere, exacerbationem eius moleste ferentes conspiraverunt et coniuraverunt, ut ipsum occiderent. Quidam autem ex ipsis notificavit regi in necem eius coniuratos, ex quibus eos, quos potuit, captos fecit interfici^a sine iudicii examine,³⁹⁰ quod in magnum detrimentum regis versum est. Cum enim rex Quadragesimam Chanadini celebraret,³⁹¹ in eadem Quadragesima circiter quinquaginta viros nobiles sub pretextu consiliandi³⁹² in quadam domo conclusit, et ab armatis militibus fecit eos obtruncari nec contritos^b nec confessos.³⁹³ Unde Beatus Gerardus Chanadiensis episcopus canonica severitate regem corripuit et sibi periculum imminere predixit.³⁹⁴

^a *In margine manu XV saeculi* Notatur, [quod]

^b contritos] *recte* convictos *SK*

³⁸⁸ Medieval Hungary was surrounded by wide strips of uninhabited land with both natural and artificial obstacles (*gyepű, indagine*) guarded by special forces (*őrök, speculatores*) and the country was accessible only through gates (*portae*); see Hans-gern Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, pp. 5–22 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1972).

³⁸⁹ On these remarks, see József Gerics, “Zu den Quellen der gesellschaftlichen Ideologie in Ungarn nach dem Tod des heiligen Stephan,” *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989), pp. 431–463.

³⁹⁰ An argumentation based on Roman law (Cod. Ius. 1.310 &c.); cf. SK p. 116.

³⁹¹ 7 March and 22 April 1044. Here and in the next chapter the chronicle contains extensive passages from the Lesser Life of St. Gerard (SRH 2: p. 476; see CEMT 7). The relationship of the two texts is open for debate.

unwilling to accept any agreement until he would come to Bavaria so that those who had been wronged by the Hungarians might have their say in the conclusion of peace. The emperor therefore came to the boundaries of Hungary and made his dispositions to storm on the next day the obstacles by which the Hungarians fortified the river Rábca.³⁸⁸ Meanwhile the emperor had been requested by ambassadors from King Aba that he should set a suitable term by which King Aba should return to him all the prisoners, presenting also gifts to him. The gifts were attractive to the emperor, and since he was taken up with more weighty business he returned to Bezançon, which is a town in Burgundy. Since he had now security, King Aba became insolent and began to rage cruelly against the Hungarians. For he held that all things should be in common between lords and servants; and also regarded that breaking an oath is a nothingness.³⁸⁹ Despising the nobles of the kingdom, he consorted with peasants and commoners. The Hungarian nobles were unwilling to endure this from him, and chafing under this insulting behavior they conspired and plotted that they would kill him. But one of them informed the king of the conspiracy against his life, whereupon the king captured as many of them as he could and had them put to death without examination or trial,³⁹⁰ which did great damage to his cause. When the king was keeping the time of Lent at Cenad,³⁹¹ on the pretext of holding a council³⁹² he shut up some fifty nobles in a house and caused them to be butchered by armed warriors, without repentance or confession.³⁹³ Therefore the blessed Gerard, bishop of Cenad, with the authority of his office sternly rebuked the king and foretold that great peril threatened him.³⁹⁴

³⁹² In the first centuries of the kingdom the words “council” and “synod” were used for secular gathering of the great men of the realm as well.

³⁹³ The continuation of the preceding argumentation based on the Canon law, cf. Ansbertus 1.11.c.20 and Burchardus 1.18.c.22.

³⁹⁴ Some scholars argue that the Life and chronicle “adjusted” the events to the posthumously negative image of King Aba, for there is evidence that the Hungarian episcopate, together with Bishop Gerard supported the king and fought on his side at the battle of Ménfő (see below). Others accept the authenticity of the confrontation between king and his bishop.

76. Quidam itaque ex coniuratis propter hoc magis incitati, fugientes venerunt ad cesarem et oblocuti sunt contra Abam dicentes, quod^a pro nichilo iuramentum reputaret, nobilesque, qui eum regem super se constituerant, contempneret et cum rusticis ignobilibus ederet, equitaret et continue loqueretur. Quibus^b dixit imperator: Ista etenim consuetudo non est nobilis hominis, sed eius oppositi. Ipsum ergo cesarem efficaciter instigaverunt, ut super Abam regem iniuriam vindicaret, quia nec captivos suos remiserat, sicut cesari iuraverat nec illata dampna resarciret. Cesar itaque animatus instigationibus Hungarorum cum exercitu Norico et Bohemico et flangribus^c aulicorum suorum venit in marchiam Austrie, dissimulans se intraturum in Hungariam, simulans autem se pactum ab Aba rege exacturum et reversurum. Tunc legati Abe regis venientes ad cesarem repetebant Hungaros, qui ad cesarem fugerant, conquerentes et dicentes, quod ipsi essent *predones et latrunculi*³⁹⁵ regni Hungarie et precipui incentores guerrarum et discordie inter Hungaros et cesarem, [52] qui cesari fideliter obsequerentur: ideoque huiusmodi seminatores discordie tradi oportere in manus Abe regis Hungarorum. Quod cesar nullo modo se facturum respondit. Concitato itaque <curso> invasit fines Hungarie intrans per Supronium. Et cum vellet per Bobuth Rabcha pertransire, fluvium Rabcha stagnantibus aquis et densissimis nemoribus et scaturientibus paludibus impermeabilem transire non potuit. Hungari ergo, qui erant cum cesare et Petro rege, duxerunt exercitum tota nocte equitantes sursum iuxta fluvios Raba et Rabcha, quos illucescente sole facili vado transierunt. Occurrit autem ei Aba rex in Menfew iuxta Iaurinum cum magna multitudine armatorum nimium presumens de victoria, quia Bava-ri quidam intimaverant ei, quod cesar cum paucis super eum veni-

^a *In margine manu XV saeculi* Accusacio

^b *In margine manu XV saeculi* R(esponsi)o

^c flangribus] *recte* falangibus, cf. cap. 155.

76. Because of this, some of the conspirators greatly aroused fled to the emperor and accused Aba that he counted oath breaking as nothing, scorned the nobles who had made him king over them, and continually ate, rode and conversed with common peasants. The emperor said to them: "Such is not the conduct of a noble man, but of his opposite." They powerfully incited the emperor that he should avenge himself upon King Aba for the injury that he had done him for he had neither sent back the prisoners as he had sworn to the emperor, nor indemnified him for the damage he had suffered. Thus stirred by the incitements of the Hungarians, the emperor appeared with a Bavarian and Czech army together with his courtly retinue in the mark of Austria, concealing his design to enter Hungary and making as if he would demand from King Aba the fulfillment of their agreement and would then return. Then ambassadors came to the emperor from King Aba and asked that the Hungarians who had fled to the emperor be delivered to them, arguing that these were *robbers and brigands*³⁹⁵ of the kingdom of Hungary and the chief fomenters of wars and enmity between the emperor and the Hungarians, who were faithful and obedient to the emperor; and therefore it was fitting that such sewers of strife should be given over into the hands of Aba, king of the Hungarians. But the emperor answered that this he would no ways do. With his army he swiftly invaded the Hungarian border marches at Sopron; but when he wished to cross the river Rábca near Babót, the crossing was impossible because of floods and the dense forests and the boggy marshes. Therefore the Hungarians who were with the emperor and King Peter led the army, riding all through the night, along the rivers Rába and Rábca, and crossed by an easy ford at sunrise. King Aba with a great multitude of armed men met him at Ménfő near Győr in overweening confidence of victory, for he had been told by some Bavarians that the emperor

³⁹⁵ Cf. Dig. 49.15.24: "Hostes sunt, quibus bellum publice populus Romanus decrevit vel ipsi populo Romano: ceteri latrunculi vel praedones appellantur." See also ch. 90, n. 451 on p. 169.

ret.³⁹⁶ Et, ut dicitur, Aba rex victoriam habuisset, nisi quia Hungari quidam amicitiam Petro regi reservantes super terram sua vexilla proiecissent et fugissent. Tradunt autem Teutonici,³⁹⁷ quod cum ad prelium appropinquassent cum celesti signo nebula tenuis apparuit, turboque vehemens divinitus incitatus terribilem pulverem obtutibus ingessit Ungarorum,³⁹⁸ quos iam pridem, ut dicitur, quia Petrum suum regem dehonestaverant, dominus apostolicus anathemate dampnaverant feriendo. Conmisso igitur prelio inter utrumque diu et acriter pugnatum est, sed tandem cesar divino fretus auxilio felicem obtinuit victoriam.³⁹⁹ Aba vero rex devictus fugit versus Tysciam et <in> villa quadam in sc<r>obe^a veteri⁴⁰⁰ ab Hungaris, quibus regnans nocuerat, crudeliter iugulatur. Cuius quidem corpus est sepultum in ecclesia, que fuerat prope ipsam villam. Post aliquos autem annos, cum esset effosum de sepulchro, sudarium et ipsius vestimenta invenerunt incorrupta et loca vulnorum resanata. Tandem sepelierunt corpus <eius> in proprio monasterio in Sarus.⁴⁰¹ Cesar autem reversus ad castra ante sacrosanctum lignum salutifere crucis se humiliter ac devote prostravit, discalciatus pedes, cilicio ad carnem indutus una cum omni populo suo misericordiam Dei glorificavit, quod ipsum illo die liberavit de manibus Hungarorum.⁴⁰² Ex Teutonicis illo die in loco ipso infinita corruit multitudo ita, quod idem locus usque hodie Fer[53]lorum Payer in lingua eorum, in lingua autem nostra Westnempti nominatur.⁴⁰³

^a sc<r>obe SK] scoobe Ms

³⁹⁶ The battle on the field of Ménfő was fought on 5 July 1044.

³⁹⁷ A clear reference to an account of the battle written by Germans, that is the *Annals of Niederaltaich* (pp. 35–6).

³⁹⁸ Such a miraculous event is recorded in 1 Kings 18: 43–45; Zeph 1: 15–18. Rodulfus Glaber – *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque. The Five Books of the Histories*. John France, Neithard Bulst, eds. (Oxford: OUP, 1989), V. 23–24, pp. 247–249 – wrote about it as *tanta caligo*.

³⁹⁹ It is possible that Pope Benedict IX (1032–45) excommunicated King Aba, even though no sources survived about it, and thus the battle was considered as a judgment of God (as generally believed in the Middle Ages).

⁴⁰⁰ “In a cave” does not make much sense; it derives perhaps from the name of village Feldebrő, wherein the Slavic ‘debro’ means “ditch, cave”.

was coming against him with few warriors.³⁹⁶ And it is said that King Aba would have gained the victory, had it not been that some of the Hungarians, in their abiding friendship towards King Peter, cast their banners to the ground and fled. The Germans also relate³⁹⁷ that as they drew near to the field of battle, a thin mist appeared as a heavenly sign, and a violent whirlwind, stirred up by divine agency, sent a terrible dust into the eyes of the Hungarians.³⁹⁸ It is said that the Apostolic Lord had previously excommunicated them because they had dishonored Peter, their king. Battle was joined, and the two armies fought long and fiercely until at last the emperor, trusting in God's help, gained success and victory. The defeated King Aba fled towards the river Tisza, and in a cave in a village⁴⁰⁰ he was cruelly killed by the Hungarians to whom during his reign he had done evil. His body was buried in a church near that village. When after some years it was taken out of the tomb, it was found that his shroud and his garments were not decayed and that the places of his wounds were healed. They buried his body at last in his own monastery at Abasár.⁴⁰¹ When the emperor had returned to his camp, he prostrated himself in humiliation and devotion before the holy wood of the cross of our salvation; having put off his shoes, and clothed in sackcloth, he gave praise with all his people to the mercy of God because He had that day delivered him from the hands of the Hungarians.⁴⁰² The number of Germans who perished there on that day was beyond counting. Therefore even now the place is called in their language Ferlorum Payer and in our language Westnempti.⁴⁰³ For two months

⁴⁰¹ It was a popular belief that King Aba led a saintly life. Anon. (ch. 32, p. 71) explained his name (resembling that of an abbot) as reflecting his *pietas*. Abasár was the so-called 'clan-monastery' of the kindred, founded by Samuel.

⁴⁰² See Atria A. Larson, "Bestowing Pardon and Favor: Emperor Henry III's Pardons in Context," *Viator* 40 (2009), pp. 60–63. Henry III took with him a relic of the True Cross, or even the whole reliquary (the *Reichskreuz* of Conrad II). His prostration and prayer recalls that of Otto I's before the Holy Lance at Birten in 939.

⁴⁰³ That is, "Verlorene Bayer" and Hungarian "Lost Germans." There was a settlement near Kapuvár, called Némethi from Hungarian *német*, 'German') that might have inspired such a tradition.

Ob fetorem namque mortuorum per duos menses homo non poterat bono modo per partes illas pertransire, sagittarii enim occiderant eos.

77. Interea Hungari congregati supplices venerunt ad cesarem veniam et misericordiam implorantes. Quos cesar placido vultu et benigne suscipiens, quod rogabant, concessit. Indeque cum omni multitudine sua Albam venit, que Teutonice Veyzburg dicitur, que est principalis sedes regni Hungarie.⁴⁰⁴ Ibi ergo cesar imperiali honore et latissimo preparatu ab Ungaris honoratus Petrum regem regali corone plenarie restitutum et sacris insignibus sancti regis Stephani⁴⁰⁵ more regio decoratum in regali throno manu sua deducens, in basilica gloriose genitricis Dei semper Virginis Marie regaliter sedere fecit, et ibidem regem Hungaris et Hungaros regi reconciliavit, concessitque petentibus Ungaris Hungarica scita servare et consuetudinibus iudicari.⁴⁰⁶ Hiis itaque taliter ordinatis cesar Petro rege cum presidio suorum in Hungaria relicto cum optata prosperitate Ratisponam rediit.

78. DE REVERSIONE IMPERATORIS IN HUNGARIAM

⁴⁰⁷Sequenti vero anno reversus est cesar in Hungariam, cui Petrus rex in ipsa sancta sollempnitate⁴⁰⁸ regnum Hungarie cum deaura-

⁴⁰⁴ The use of the German variant of Fehérvár hints again at a German source, such as the Annals of Niederaltaich (see p. 37 there).

⁴⁰⁵ This is the earliest reference to the “holy insignia” of St. Stephen. What, if anything of the regalia survived the years of the civil war, can only be speculated upon. For an overview of the history of the insignia (especially the “Holy Crown”) see: Kálmán Benda and Erik Fügedi, *Tausend Jahre Stephanskron* (Budapest: Corvina, 1988). The extensive debate on these matters cannot be rehearsed here. From another source, the records of Leodvin/Liedvin (MGH SS 15/2, pp. 963 to 264), it is known that it was Andrew I, who ordered the collection of the insignia of King Stephen to legitimize his reign.

⁴⁰⁶ According to the Annals of Niederaltaich (p. 37) the Hungarians asked for German laws (*scita Teutonica*) from the emperor.

nobody could well pass over this field because of the stench of the dead men, who had been killed by the archers.

77. Meanwhile the assembled Hungarians came as suppliants to the emperor, imploring pardon and mercy. The emperor, who received them kindly and with a gracious countenance, granted their request. Thence he came with his entire host to Fehérvár, which in the German language is called Weissenburg and is the principal seat of the kingdom of Hungary.⁴⁰⁴ There the emperor, honored by the Hungarians with a great imperial reception and extensive preparations; made King Peter, whom the royal crown had been restored and who was adorned according to royal custom with the holy insignia of King St. Stephen,⁴⁰⁵ leading him with his own hand to the throne in the church of the glorious mother of God, the Virgin Mary, to be royally seated. There he reconciled the king with the Hungarians and the Hungarians with the king, and he granted the petition of the Hungarians that Hungarian law be kept and judgment given according to custom.⁴⁰⁶ When he had thus set matters in order and had in all things succeeded as he wished, the emperor returned to Regensburg, leaving Peter behind in Hungary under the guard of his own men.

78. RETURN OF THE EMPEROR TO HUNGARY

⁴⁰⁷In the following year, however, the emperor returned to Hungary, and in sacred and solemn ceremony⁴⁰⁸ King Peter in the pres-

⁴⁰⁷ Hist. in: A crowned king (Peter) on throne-bench receives a lance from a crowned ruler in doublet (Henry III), accompanied by bearers of a golden orb and a golden square object.

⁴⁰⁸ According to the *Annals of Niederaltaich* it happened on the day of Pentecost in 1045, on 26 May. The chronicler does not mention that the German emperor sent the crown and lance of St. Stephan to the Pope, whose legal consequences became the subject of long debates between the German, papal and Hungarian courts.

ta lancea⁴⁰⁹ tradidit coram Hungaris simul et Teutonicis. Multis etiam insuper et magnificis muneribus cesar honorificatus a rege ad propria rediit cum gloria. Interea Endre, Bela et Levente, qui fuerant in Bohemiam, inde propter paupertatis inopiam transierunt in Poloniam, et a Misca duce Polonie benigne sunt suscepti et honorati.⁴¹⁰

79. Tunc vero Pomorani annuas pensiones duci Polonorum, cui tenebantur, reddere recusarunt. Dux vero census sibi debitum a Po<mo>ranis armata manu cepit exigere.⁴¹¹ Pomoranis itaque paganis et Polonis Christianis comunitur [54] placuit, ut duces eorum duello confligerent, et si caderet devictus Pomoranus, consuetam persolveret pensionem, si vero Polonus, tantummodo dampna flet. Cum igitur Misca dux et filii eius⁴¹² horrerent duellum assumere inpositum Bela seipsum per verbum interpretis⁴¹³ in medium introducens sic dicebat: Si vobis Polonis et domino duci placet, quamvis sim nobilior, quam paganus ille, tamen pugnabo pro regni vestri

⁴⁰⁹ In all likelihood, a lance belonged to the Hungarian royal insignia ever since St Stephen's time. It may have been similar to the copy of the Holy Lance given by Otto III to the duke of Poland. Stephen is depicted with lance in hand on the contemporary coronation mantle and a hand with lance (inscribed *LANCEA REGIS*) appears on his penny, see Márton Gyöngyössi – Heinz Winter, *Münzen und Medaillen des ungarischen Mittelalters* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2007), p. 15. This lance and a crown was according to Pope Gregory VII sent by Henry III to Rome, see the letter of Gregory VII to King Solomon, 28 October 1074 (*Regesta pontificum Romanorum etc.* Phillip Jaffé, Samuel Löwenfeld, eds. Nr. 4886, p. 608 (ed. 2. Leipzig: Veit, 1885–8); cf. *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085*, p. 108 [2.13], H. E. J. Cowdrey, trans., Oxford–New York: OUP, 2002, p. 108). The fate of the “golden lance” of the 1044 inauguration is not known, see Arnulphus Mediolanensis *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolensium* (III.6) in MGH SS 8., p. 18; and Bonizo, *Liber ad amicum* V. (MGH Ldl, I, p. 583.); cf. Deér, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns*, pp. 199–200.

⁴¹⁰ Since Mieszko II (king since 1025), died in 1034, it is unlikely that the sons of Vazul—who must have left Hungary around 1038, see ch. 69, above—were his guests; rather those of Casimir I (1039–58).

⁴¹¹ The Polish dukes fought with the Pomeranians throughout the eleventh century. The episode about the duel seems to be fiction, in order to give a heroic and knightly background to the father of King (St.) Ladislas. In some details the

ence of Hungarians and Germans delivered over to him the kingdom of Hungary by a golden lance.⁴⁰⁹ The king further honored him with many and the most magnificent gifts, and so the emperor returned home with glory. Meanwhile Andrew, Béla and Levente, who had fled into Bohemia, left that country because their condition of life was poor and mean and departed to Poland, where they were kindly and honorably received by Mieszko, the duke of Poland.⁴¹⁰

79. At that time the Pomeranians refused to pay their yearly tribute to the duke of Poland, to whom they were subject. The duke set out to exact by force of arms the tribute due to him from the Pomeranians.⁴¹¹ The pagan Pomeranians and the Christian Poles unanimously agreed that their dukes should meet each other in a duel, and if the Pomeranian fell defeated, he would render the customary tribute; and if the Pole, then he might bewail its loss. Since Duke Mieszko and his sons⁴¹² shrank in fear from the duel to be fought, Béla presented himself before them and through an interpreter⁴¹³ spoke thus: "If it is pleasing to you, Poles, and to the lord duke, although I am of nobler birth than that pagan, yet I will fight for the advantage of your kingdom and for the honor of the duke." This was pleasing both to the Pomeranians and to the Poles. When they met

story resembles the fight between Botond and a Byzantine warrior, cf. ch. 62. A legal-historical analysis is offered by Dániel Bagi, "Quamvis sim nobilior quam paganus ille, tamen pugnabo pro regni vestri commodo et honore domini ducis." Zur Kritik eines Kapitels der Ungarischen Chronikkomposition," in: *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Jackowi Banaszekiewiczowi*, Pleszczyński Andrzej, ed., pp. 97–110 (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu, 2012).

⁴¹² Duke Mieszko had only one son, but Casimir had four.

⁴¹³ A rare reference to the problem of language in a medieval source. The matter of "translation" is usually disregarded in the narrative (and diplomatic) sources. See, however the occasional hint at translation, e. g. chs. 90, 91 and 165 (pp. 168–9, 174–5, and 306–7). From the extensive literature see János M. Bak, "Linguistic Pluralism in Medieval Hungary," in: *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethell*, M. A. Meyer, ed., pp. 269–80 (London: Hambledon Press, 1993).

conmodo et honore ducis. Placuit itaque tam Pomorano <quam> et Polonis. Cumque armati cum lancea se iunxissent, tam viriliter Pomoranum fertur Bela de suo dextrario detrusisse, ut de loco suo se movere non potuit, et gladio perfossum prostravit. Confessusque est ipse dux Pomoranus se culpabilem. Quo viso Pomorani duci Polonie humiliter subditi solitum tributum sine contradictione persolverunt. Dux vero inde revertens cum victoria per Belam adquisita, audaciam et potentiam valoris in Bela duce collaudans cum toto censu Pomoranico ei tradidit filiam suam in uxorem,⁴¹⁴ et universa, que sibi necessaria fuerant, sufficienter et copiose ministrari precepit, et eum in omnibus honoratum in ducatu suo tenuit ac bona quantitate de terra eundem hereditare non omisit.

80. DE BELA DUCE BENYN DICTO⁴¹⁵

Bela vero dux ipse in Polonia duos genuit filios, quorum unus Geysa, alter autem Ladizlaus nomine avi sui est vocatus.⁴¹⁶ Displacuit autem Endre et Levente, quod per Belam apud ducem Polonie quasi appendices degerent, dedignatique sunt occasione sui nominis in ducis curia permanere. Et accepta a duce licentia, Bela fratre suo ibidem relicto euntes iverunt ad regem Lodomerie,⁴¹⁷ qui ipsos non recepit. Cumque non haberent, ubi caput suum reclinarent,⁴¹⁸ abinde ad Cumanos perrexerunt. Videntes autem ipsos [55] Cumani optime personatos, arbitrati sunt, ut eorum terram advenissent explorare. Et nisi captivus Hungarus illos cognovisset, revera occidissent et sic postmodum aliquo tempore ipsos tenuerunt. Abhinc postea in Rusciam sunt profecti.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁴ His wife was the daughter of Mieszko II, in some sources called Richeza or Adelaide (d. 1052), who became the mother of the future kings, Géza I and Ladislas I.

⁴¹⁵ The meaning of this nickname is not clear ('valiant', 'pious', 'white'?), but once it was used also as 'Belyn' in a charter transcript in 1228 (*Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. Gusztáv Wenzel, ed. vol. 6, p. 457 (Pest: MTA, 1874)).

⁴¹⁶ A reference to Ladislas the Bald, the fictive grandfather of the three princes; in fact, they were the grandsons of Vazul, cf. ch. 69, above and n. 354, p. 128.

in combat, armed with lances, Béla is said to have so manfully unseated the Pomeranian from his horse that he could not move from the spot where he had fallen, and Béla pierced him with his sword. Then the duke of the Pomeranians confessed himself at fault; and the Pomeranians, seeing this, humbly submitted to the duke of Poland and paid the accustomed tribute without murmuring. Returning thence in victory, won for him by Béla, the duke praised the boldness and strength of Prince Béla and bestowed on him all the Pomeranian tribute and his daughter as wife.⁴¹⁴ He arranged that he should be supplied in full and abundant measure with all things necessary; and kept him in his duchy and honored him in every way, nor did he omit to settle upon him a goodly quantity of land.

80. PRINCE BÉLA, KNOWN AS BENYN⁴¹⁵

Prince Béla begot two sons in Poland, one of whom was named Géza and the other Ladislás, after his grandfather.⁴¹⁶ But it was displeasing to Andrew and Levente that they should have to live the life of hangers-on in the duke of Poland's court, regarded only as Béla's brothers. Having received permission from the duke, they left their brother Béla behind and made their way to the king of Vladimir,⁴¹⁷ who did not receive them. Since they had nowhere to lay their head,⁴¹⁸ they went from there to the Cumans. Seeing that they conscientiously disguised their identity, the Cumans thought that they had come to spy out the land, and had a captive Hungarian not recognized them, they would certainly have killed them, but so they kept them with them for some time. Then they departed thence to Rus'.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁷ The Principality of Vladimir(-Suzdal) did not exist in the eleventh century, thus this sentence must have been inserted later.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Mt 8: 20; Lk 9: 58.

⁴¹⁹ There is no way to verify this adventure. The two brothers moved from Poland to Rus' in the early 1040s where Andrew married Anastasia, daughter of Grand Duke Yaroslav the Wise of Novgorod and Kiev.

81. Eo tempore quidam magnates Hungarie desolationem regni gementes et liberationem Hungarie a tyrannide Petri cupientes Endre, Bela et Levente, qui de genere Sancti Stephani regis progeniti erant, intemeratam fidelitatem servabant et eis per nuncios bona, que habere poterant, mittendo fideliter serviebant. Erant autem isti magnates Visca, Bua et Buhna⁴²⁰ et alii eorundem cognati, qui semper cum suspiriis et gemitibus expectabant oportunitatem, quando Andream, Belam et Leventam possent reducere in Hungariam, et regnum generi Sancti Stephani regis, qui eos dilexerat et exaltaverat, omnibus viribus suis restituere laborabant. Petrus vero rex per potestatem regis Teutonicorum elatus non iam regnabat, sed potius tyrannidis sue crudelitate Hungariam deprimendo flagellabat. Quibusdam autem perfidis, Buda scilicet et Deuecher suggerentibus audivit Petrus, quod predicti nobiles Hungarie, scilicet Visca, Bua et Buhna et eorum cognati cogitabant, qualiter regnum regio semini possent restituere et Andream, Belam atque Leventam contra Petrum regem in regnum reducere. Petrus vero rex vehementi furore succensus fecit eos comprehendi et in eculeo suspensos interfici, quosdam autem effosis oculis tormentari. Et totam Hungariam tam magnis afflixit angustiis, ut magis eligerent mori, quam ita miserabiliter vivere. Tunc nobiles Hungarie videntes mala gentis sue in Chanad in unum convenerunt, consilioque habito totius Hungarie^a nuncios miserunt sollempnes in Rusciam ad Andream et Leventam dicentes eis, quod tota Hungaria eos fideliter expectaret, et universum regnum eis, sicut regali semini libenter obsequeretur, tantummodo ipsi in Hungariam descenderent et eos a furore Teutonicorum defenderent. Hoc etiam eis iuramento firmaverunt, quod statim ut ipsi in Ungariam introirent, omnes Hungari unanimiter ad ipsos confluerent et eorum dominio [56] se subderent.

a totius Hungarie *bis*

81. At that time certain magnates of Hungary mourned over the desolation of the kingdom and desired greatly the liberation of Hungary from Peter's tyranny. They maintained untarnished loyalty towards Andrew, Béla and Levente, who were descended from the kindred of King St. Stephen, and they served them faithfully by sending to them by messengers whatever goods they had. These magnates were Visca, Bua and Buhna,⁴²⁰ and others of their kin who always awaited with sighs and groans the time when they could bring back Andrew, Béla and Levente into Hungary. They worked with all their strength to restore the kingdom to the kinsmen of King St. Stephen, who had loved them and praised them. King Peter, raised on high by the power of the king of the Germans, was now no ruler, but rather with the cruelty of his tyranny a scourge and an oppressor of Hungary. From the whisperings of traitors, namely Buda and Devecser, Peter learned that the aforesaid nobles, namely Visca, Bua and Buhna, and their kindred, were planning how they could restore the kingdom to the royal seed and bring back Andrew, Béla and Levente into the kingdom against King Peter. King Peter raged in fury, and he ordered them to be seized and placed upon the rack and killed; others he caused to be tortured and blinded. And on all Hungary he inflicted such great anguish that they chose rather to die than to live so miserably. Then the nobles of Hungary, seeing the sufferings of their people, came together in Cenad, and after they had held a council of all of Hungary they sent solemn messengers to Rus' to Andrew and Levente to tell them that all Hungary awaited them in loyalty, and that the whole kingdom would obey them as being of the royal seed if only they would come down into Hungary and defend them from the fury of the Germans. They confirmed to them by oath that as soon as they entered Hungary, all the Hungarians would flock to them with one accord, and would submit themselves to their rule.

⁴²⁰ For Visca see below, ch. 72 (pp. 136–7); for Bua and Buhna n. 322 on p. 115, above, where they feature as the two sons of Gyula.

82. Endre vero et Levente timentes palliatas insidias clamculo miserunt nuncios in Hungariam. Cum autem venissent ad Novum Castrum^a, quod rex Aba construxerat, ecce universa multitudo Hungarorum catervatim confluit ad ipsos et instinctu dyabolico inflammati pervicaciter petierunt ab Endre et Levente, quod permitterent universum populum ritu paganorum vivere, episcopos et clericos occidere, ecclesias destruere, Christianam^b fidem abicere et ydola colere. Permiseruntque eos secundum desideria cordis eorum, ut irent et perirent in adinventionibus antiquorum patrum suorum,⁴²¹ aliter enim non pugnabant contra Petrum regem pro Endre et Levente. Primus autem inter Hungaros nomine Vatha de castro Selus^c dedicavit se demoniis, radens caput suum et cincinos d<e>mittens^d sibi per tres partes⁴²² ritu paganorum.⁴²³ Cuius filius nomine Ianus⁴²⁴ multo postmodum tempore ritum patris sequendo congregavit ad se multos magos et phitonissas et aruspices, per quorum incantationes valde graciosus erat apud dominos. De multis autem deabus suis una nomine Rasdi capta fuit a Christianissimo rege Bela et tamdiu in carcere fuit reclusa, donec recomederet pedes proprios ibidemque moreretur. Est autem scriptum in antiquis libris de gestis Hungarorum,⁴²⁵ quod omnino prohibitum erat Christianis uxorem ducere de consanguineis Vatha et Ianus, qui sicut Dathan et Abyron⁴²⁶ in veteri lege seditionem moverunt contra Dominum, sic et isti tempore gratie⁴²⁷ Ungaricum populum a fide

^a *In margine manu XVI saeculi exeuntis* Aba Uywar

^b *In margine manu XV saeculi* [Hu]ngari recesserunt a fide catholica

^c *Littera prima identificari minus potest.*

^d d<e>mittens] dimittens *Ms*

⁴²¹ Cf. Ps 80: 13

⁴²² Hairstyle as a sign of an ethnic or religious group was (and partly remained) widespread, see e.g. Robert Bartlett, "Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 4 (1994), pp. 43–60. At another place of the chronicle (ch. 102, below, pp. 196–7) the shaved head of the pagan Cumans is also referred to. The special permission by Pope Nicholas III for the Christianized Cumans settled in Hungary not to have to cut their hair suggests the importance of such a practice (see Berend, *At the Gate*, p. 222, n. 160).

82. Since they feared some treacherous ambush, Andrew and Levente secretly sent messengers into Hungary. When they came to Abaújvár which King Aba had built, behold, the whole multitude of the Hungarians streamed towards them in hordes, and inflamed by a devilish madness they stubbornly requested Andrew and Levente to allow the whole people to live according to the pagan rites, to kill the bishops and the clergy, to destroy the churches, to throw off the Christian faith, and to worship idols. They were granted the desire of their hearts to live and die in their misbelieve as their fathers had done of old;⁴²¹ for otherwise they would not fight for Andrew and Levente against King Peter. Chief among the Hungarians was one whose name was Vata from the castle Békés; he dedicated himself to demons, shaving his head and wearing three braids⁴²² according to the heathen manner.⁴²³ Much later his son, whose name was John,⁴²⁴ following the rites of his father gathered around himself many magicians, soothsayers and fortune-tellers, through whose incantations he won great esteem among the lords. One of these many priestesses, whose name was Rasdi, was placed in captivity by the most Christian King Béla; she was shut up in prison until she ate her own feet, and there she died. It is written in the ancient books about the deeds of the Hungarians⁴²⁵ that it was most strictly forbidden to Christians to take a wife from the kindred of Vata and John; for just as in the old time of the law Dathan and Abiram⁴²⁶ stirred up sedition against the Lord, so these in the time of grace⁴²⁷ turned the Hungarian people away from the faith of Christ. Following Vata' detestable

⁴²³ This kind of revolt against the new faith and the Christian monarchy was not unique in the region; see Christian Lübke, "Das 'junge Europa' in der Krise: Gentilreligiöse Herausforderung um 1000," *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropaforschung* 50 (2000), pp. 475–96.

⁴²⁴ John (János) became the leader of the pagan revolt in 1060, mentioned in ch. 95 (below, pp. 184–5) where the chronicler doesn't name him.

⁴²⁵ A rare reference to the earlier redactions of chronicles.

⁴²⁶ See Num 16: 31.

⁴²⁷ That is, 'Anno Domini' in contrast to Old Testamental time, called here 'the old time of the Law'; see Trompf, G.W., *The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought from Antiquity to the Reformation*, p. 335 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

Christi averterunt. Tunc itaque detestabili et execrabili amonitione illius Vathe omnes populi libaverunt se demoniis et ceperunt comedere equinas pulpas⁴²⁸ et omnino pessimas facere culpas. Tam quippe clericos quam laicos catholice fidei servatores interfecerunt et quamplures ecclesias Dei destruxerunt. Deinde contra Petrum regem rebellantes universos Teutonicos et Latinos, qui in officiis diversis prefecti per Hungariam sparsi fuerant, turpi neci tradiderunt. Mittentesque in Petri castra in equis velocissimis nocte tres precones, [57] qui deberent proclamare edictum et verbum Domini, Endree et Levente, ut episcopi cum clero sint neca<ndi>^a, decimator trucidetur, traditio resumatur paganisma, penitus abolenda sit collecta, cum suis Teutonicis et Latinis Petri pereat memoria in eternum et ultra. Mane igitur facto sciscitatus est rex rei factum et certissime experiens, quod isti fratres redissent eorumque intuitu sui prefecti per Hungaros fuissent trucidati, non se ostendit perterritum de rumoribus, sed letum se demonstrans et suo castro de loco remutato transivit Danubium in Sytiateu Albam cupiens introire. Hungari autem prescientes eius velle prevenerunt occupantes campanilia et turres civitatis et seratis ianuis illum excluserunt.

83. Inter hec autem Endre et Levente cum eadem multitudine procedentes per medium Hungarie appropinquaverunt ad portum, qui vulgo dicitur Pesth.⁴²⁹ Quo audito Gerardus, Boztricus, Buldi et Benetha episcopi et Zonunc comes de civitate Alba egressi sunt obviam Endre et Levente ducibus, ut eos honorifice susciperent. Cumque festinanter predicti episcopi ad locum venissent, qui dicitur Gyod, ibi in ecclesia Sancte Sabine, priusquam ad dominos irent, missam audire voluerunt. Beatus itaque Gerardus episcopus sacerdotalibus vestibus ad celebrandam missam indutus, exortationis gratia locutus est eis dicens: Fratres et coepiscopi mei et

^a neca<ndi>] necati *Ms*

⁴²⁸ On eating horse-meat as a non-Christian habit, see Robert Bartlett, "From Paganism to Christianity in Medieval Europe," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, Nora Berend ed., pp. 63–65 (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).

and execrable doctrines, all the people delivered themselves up to demons and began to eat the flesh of horses⁴²⁸ and to commit the vilest abominations. They killed the servants of the Catholic faith, both clerical and lay, and they destroyed many churches of God. Rebellious against King Peter, they put to shameful death all the Germans and Latins who had been placed in various offices throughout Hungary. In the night they sent to Peter's camp three criers, riding on swift horses, to proclaim the edict and word of Andrew and Levente that the bishops together with the clergy should be killed, the tithe collectors slaughtered, the traditions of paganism restored, the tribute collected utterly done away with, and that the memory of Peter with his Germans and Latins to be destroyed to all eternity and beyond. When dawn came, the king was acquainted with what had happened; and though knowing most surely that the brothers had returned home and that on their intention the Hungarians had butchered his officials, he did not display terror at the tidings but put on a show of joy, and leaving his camp he crossed the Danube at Žitava, desiring to enter Fehérvár. But the Hungarians foreseeing of his intention, prevented his plan and occupying the belfries and towers of the city and barring the gates locked him out.

83. Meanwhile Andrew and Levente, with the same multitude still following, advanced through the middle of Hungary and came near to the ford which is commonly called Pest.⁴²⁹ When they heard this, the Bishops Gerard, Besztrik, Buldi and Beneta and *ispán* Szolnok went forth from the city of Fehérvár to meet the Princes Andrew and Levente and to receive them with due honor. When the aforesaid bishops had arrived in haste at the place which is called Diósd, they wished there to hear Mass in the church of St. Sabina before they went to the lords. Then the blessed Bishop

⁴²⁹ At that time both sides of the ford were called Pest, they arrived to the (today) Buda (right) side of the river. The rest of the chapter follows closely the *Vita maior* of St. Gerard (SRH 2: pp. 501–3 cf. CEMT 7). While this legend in its present form was written in the fourteenth century, its details may go back to earlier traditions. Even if its dating is debatable, the chronicle seems to borrow these passages from it or its precursor.

omnes alii fideles, qui adestis, scitote nos hodie ad Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum cum corona martirii in eterna gaudia peruenturos. Ego enim notum facio vobis archanum Dei, quod michi in hac nocte revelatum est. Vidi enim Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in pluteo sanctissime matris sue semper Virginis Marie sedentem nobisque ad se vocatis de manu sua corporis et sanguinis sui eucharistiam communicantem. Beneta vero episcopus cum ad eum accessisset, retraxit ei Christus eucharistiam. Unde ipse hodie martirii nostri consortio privabitur. Post hoc autem Beatus Gerardus admonuit eos, ut confiterentur alterutrum peccata sua, et audita missa orationi incumbentes et certa spe eterne beatitudinis per martirium adipiscende letificati omnes communicarunt. [58] Deinde^a perrexerunt pariter versus portum Danubii in Pesth. Beatus autem Gerardus episcopus, cum esset brevis statura omnesque vires suas in servitio Dei funditus consumpsisset, currus subvectione utebatur. Cumque ad predictum portum venisset, ecce viri impii, scilicet Vatha et complices sui demonibus pleni, quibus seipsos dedicaverant, irruerunt in episcopos et in omnes socios eorum et lapidibus eos obruebant. Beatus vero Gerardus episcopus eos, qui se lapidabant, indesinenter crucis signo insigniebat. At illi hoc viso multo magis sevientem impetum fecerunt in eum et everterunt currum eius in rippam Danubii, ibique abstracto eo de curru eius, in biga positum de monte Kelenfeld⁴³⁰ submiserunt, et dum adhuc palpitaret, in pectore lancea percussus ac deinde super unum lapidem contriverunt cerebrum eius. Sicque gloriosus martyr Christi ab erumpnis mundi huius ad eternam beatitudinem transiit. Danubius sepe redundans super molem lapidis, in qua contritum est caput Sancti Gerardi, non potuit sanguinem diluere per septem annos, donec recoligatus est a sacerdotibus. Et lapis ille nunc est

^a *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Zent Gelerth*

Gerard, having put on his priestly robes to celebrate Mass, spoke to them these words of exhortation: "Brothers and my fellow-bishops and all the other faithful who are present, know that today we shall come to our Lord Jesus Christ with the crown of martyrdom and enter into eternal joy. For I make known to you the secret of God, which was revealed to me this night. I saw our Lord Jesus Christ seated on the lap of His most holy mother the Virgin Mary, and having beckoned us to Him with His hand He gave to us the Eucharist of His flesh and blood. But when Bishop Beneta approached Him, Christ withdrew the sacrament from him. Therefore he will today be excluded from participation in our martyrdom." After these words the blessed Gerard bade them confess their sins to one another, and after hearing Mass they fell to prayer; then they all took communion, made joyful by the certain hope of the eternal bliss which they would gain through their martyrdom. Then they set out together to the ford over the Danube at Pest. The blessed Bishop Gerard, since he was short in stature and had used up all his strength in the service of God, used a carriage for his conveyance. When they came to the aforesaid ford, behold, impious men, namely Vata and his accomplices, possessed by the demons to whom they had dedicated themselves, rushed upon the bishops and all their companions and flung stones upon them. The blessed Bishop Gerard made unceasingly the sign of the cross over those who were stoning him. But seeing this, they made all the more furious onslaught upon him and overturned his carriage on the bank of the Danube; and having taken him from his carriage, they placed him in a cart which they made to run down from Mount Kelenföld,⁴³⁰ then while he was still breathing they pierced his breast with a spear and his brains they dashed out upon a stone. Thus the glorious martyr of Christ passed from the miseries of this world to eternal bliss. The Danube, though it often flooded over the block of stone against which had been dashed the head of the

⁴³⁰ That is today's Gellérthegy (Hill of Gerard) on the Buda side of modern Budapest. Kelenföld (mentioned in 1225 as Kreinfeld) was a small settlement at the foot of the hill.

Chanadini in superficie sui altaris.⁴³¹ Nunc in eodem loco, ubi contritum est caput eius, in honore Beati Gerardi martiris ecclesia sub monte apparet fabricata.⁴³² Hic siquidem Gerardus monachus de Rosacio natione Wenetensis, qui in Pannoniam veniens primus in Beel vitam ducens heremiticam, tandem in Chanadiensem cathedram in episcopum est translatus.⁴³³

84. Buldi quoque episcopus lapidibus obrutus transiit ad gloriam. Beztricus autem et Beneta, cum transissent Danubium navigio ad Endre et Levente, heretici, qui in ulteriori litore erant, Veztricum episcopum vulneraverunt, qui tertia die postmodum mortuus est. Endre autem dux interim superveniens Benetam episcopum a manibus eorum liberavit. Et sic prophetia Sancti Gerardi impleta est. Omnes enim preter Benetam martirizati sunt, Zonuk quoque comes⁴³⁴ super dextrarium suum Danubio insiliens natabat, quem in navi veniens, quidam nomine Murthmur levavit [59] in navim, ut eum a morte liberaret. Erat enim iste Murthmur baptizatus a comite Zonuk. Qui cum predictum comitem salvare vellet, ceperunt ei heretici mortem conminar<i>^a, nisi ipse Zonuk comitem interficeret. Quorum minas Murthmur metuens ipsum comitem in navi gladio interemit. Tanta ergo multitudo clericorum et laicorum pro Christi fide eadem die martirium pertulit, ut eorum numerus Deo tantum et angelis est cognitus.

^a conminar<i>] conminare *Ms*

⁴³¹ Archeologists found a stone sarcophagus in the ruins of the cathedral of Cenad that might have contained the holy relics.

⁴³² The church does not exist today. The 1046 martyrdom of St. Gerard is commemorated on 24 September (in Italy on 23 February).

⁴³³ The Benedictine monastery of Rosazzo in Friuli was founded after Gerard's time. The saint was born to the Ventian family of Morosini (or the Sagredo), and his monastic career started in the convent of San Giorgio. In Bakonybél a Benedictine monastery dedicated to St. Maurice was founded by King Stephen I.

holy Gerard, could not wash away the blood in seven years. Then the stone was taken away by priests, and it is now placed upon his altar at Cenad.⁴³¹ At the spot where his head was shattered, a church in honor of the blessed martyr Gerard is now to be seen at the foot of the mountain.⁴³² This Gerard was a monk from Rossazzo by birth a Venetian; who, when he first came to Pannonia lived the life of a hermit at Bakonybél, and then he was transferred to the cathedral of Cenad as bishop.⁴³³

84. Bishop Buldi was also stoned, and passed over into glory. Besztrik and Beneta crossed the Danube in a boat to make their way to Andrew and Levente, but there were heretics on the farther bank, and they wounded Bishop Besztrik, who died on the third day. But the Duke Andrew came to the aid of Bishop Beneta and delivered him from their hands; and thus the prophecy of the holy Gerard was fulfilled. For all were martyred, except Beneta. As for *ispán* Szolnok,⁴³⁴ he mounted upon his horse, leapt into the Danube, and as he swam a certain man named Murtmur took him into his boat in order to save him from death. For this Murtmur had been baptized by *ispán* Szolnok. But when he wished to save the *ispán*'s life, the heretics began to threaten him with death unless he himself killed *ispán* Szolnok. Frightened by these threats, Murtmur killed the *ispán* in the boat with his sword. So great a multitude, both clerical and lay, on that same day endured martyrdom for the faith of Christ that their number is known only to God and the angels.

⁴³⁴ He must have been the first *ispán* of Szolnok County, which was named after him; the Annals of Niederaltaich (p. 43 for 1046) mentions him as Zaunic.

⁴³⁵ Hist. in.: Two scenes. (a) A green-mantled bishop holds a crown in his hand also held by a figure in doublet and "ducal" cap (Andrew); (b) a helmeted warrior kneeling on a prostrate person (Peter) gauging out its eyes.

85. DE MORTE PETRI REGIS

⁴³⁵Petrus autem rex videns Hungaros unanimiter adesisse ducibus Endre et Levente, ipse cum suis Teutonicis fugam iniit versus Musun, ut abinde in Austriam pertransiret, sed evadere non potuit. Interim enim Hungari portas et exitus regni primo occupaverunt, sed et legatus ducis Endre revocavit Petrum regem sub pretextu pacis et honoris sibi congrui. Qui credens ei revertebatur, ut dicitur, sed maxime coacte, quia exercitum sibi iam absconditum cognoverat et volebat reverti festinanter in Albam. Qui cum divertisset in villam Zamur, predictus legatus insidiis voluit eum capere et vinctum ad Endre ducem ducere. Petrus autem prenoscens hoc collegit se in quandam curiam et per triduum viriliter dimicando semetipsum defendebat. Tandem milites eius omnes a sagittariis sunt interempti. Ipse vero vivus captus est et obcecatus Albamque ductus pre nimio dolore vitam in brevi finivit. Sepultusque^a est Quinque Ecclesiis <in basilica>, quam ipse fundaverat in honore Beati Petri apostoli anno regni sui secunda vice tertio.⁴³⁶

86. REX ANDREAS PER HUNGAROS
CORONATUR

⁴³⁷[60] Porro dux Andreas a perturbationibus hostium securus effectus in regia civitate Alba regalem coronam est adeptus. A tribus tantum episcopis, qui in illa magna strage Christianorum evaserant, coronatus est anno Domini M-o XL-o VII-o.⁴³⁸ Precepit itaque universe genti sue sub pena capitalis sententie, ut deposito ritu paganismo prius eis concesso ad veram Christi fidem reverterentur

^a *In margine signum initiandi et epu[ltusque]*

⁴³⁶ The cathedral was in fact founded by King Stephen I, but it may have been consecrated only in 1041 and King Peter may have enriched it by donations. According to a different tradition, the blind Peter lived on at the court, and died only in 1059.

⁴³⁷ Hist. in.: A king (Andrew I) seated on a throne bench with sword and long scepter in his hands being crowned by two bishops, a third kneeling next to him; on both sides laymen in Oriental caftans attending.

85. DEATH OF KING PETER

⁴³⁵King Peter, seeing that the Hungarians had with one mind taken the part of the princes Andrew and Levente, took flight with his Germans towards Moson, intending to cross from there into Austria, but he could not escape. For the Hungarians were first and had occupied the gateways and egresses of the kingdom; moreover, the emissary of Prince Andrew called King Peter back under the pretext of peace and the grant of suitable honor. Believing him, King Peter returned, as it is said; but he did so only under the force of great necessity, knowing that his army had already deserted him, and wishing to return speedily to Fehérvár. When he turned aside to the village of Zámoly, the aforesaid envoy wished to take him in an ambush and to bring him bound to Prince Andrew; but having knowledge of this, Peter took refuge in a mansion and defended himself bravely for three days. At last all his warriors were killed by arrows and he was taken alive; blinded and brought to Fehérvár, where in great pain he soon ended his life. He is buried at Pécs in the church which he himself had founded in honor of the blessed apostle Peter, in the third year of his second reign.⁴³⁶

86. KING ANDREW IS CROWNED
BY THE HUNGARIANS

⁴³⁷Having now been made secure against all disturbances from enemies, Prince Andrew received the royal crown in the royal city of Fehérvár. It is noteworthy that the chronicler changed the prince's name from the vernacular (pagan?) Endre to the Latin/Christian Andreas after the coronation; see József Vekerdi "András, Endre" *Magyar Nyelv* 95 (1999): 465–7.⁴³⁸ Only three bishops who had escaped that great slaughter of the Christians crowned him in the year of our Lord 1047. He made proclamation to all his people that

⁴³⁸ It is noteworthy that the chronicler changed Andrews name from the vernacular Endre to the Latin-Christian Andreas after his coronation.

et in omnibus secundum legem illam viverent, quam sanctus rex Stephanus eos docuerat.⁴³⁹ Levente vero in eisdem diebus mortuus est, qui si diutius vixisset et regni potestatem obtinuisset, sine dubio totam Hungariam paganisma ydolatria corrumpisset. Et quia ipse Levente catholice non vixit, ideo circa villam Toxun ultra Danubium est sepultus, ubi iacere dicitur Toxun avus suus more paganismo.

87. Tradunt quidam istos tres fratres filios fuisse Vazul ducis ex quadam puella de genere Tatun et non de vero thoro ortos esse, et ob hanc coniunctionem illos de Tatun nobilitatem accepisse. Falsum pro certo est et pessime enarratum. Absque hoc namque sunt nobiles, quia isti filii sunt Calvi Ladizlai, qui uxorem de Ruthenia dicitur accepisse, ex qua tres isti fratres generantur.⁴⁴⁰

88. Iste quidem rex Albus Andreas et Catholicus est vocatus.⁴⁴¹ Tribus enim annis Polonos, Bohemos et Australes Hungaris suis armis fecit censuales.⁴⁴² Rex autem hic Andreas fratre orbatus misit in Poloniam ad alterum fratrem suum Belam cum magna dilectione vocans eum et dicens: Nos, qui quondam penurie participes fuimus et laborum, rogo te, dilectissime frater, ut ad me non tardes venire, quatenus consortes simus gaudiorum et bonis regni corporali presentia gaudentes communicemus. Neque enim heredem habeo, nec germanum preter te. Tu sis michi heres, tu in reg[61]num succedas. Hiis itaque verbis Bela adlinitus cum omni familia sua venit ad regem. Quem rex videns gavisus est *gaudio magno val-*

⁴³⁹ This passage is again identical with the Greater Legend of St. Gerard (SRH 2: p. 503 cf. CEMT 7).

⁴⁴⁰ The original historiographical context remains unknown, but there must have been a hostile argumentation in one of the earlier chronicle redaction concerning the birth and legitimacy of Andrew, Béla, and Levente with charges against their father, Vazul and their mother, a supposed "concubina". See also SK, ch. 55, p. 125 with a slightly similar argumentation. The mentioned form of marriage, the "concubinatus" was accepted in eleventh-century Hungary, and the kindred Tátony probably existed as there was a village called Tátony in Somogy County. For Ladislav the Bald cf. ch. 63, his wife could have been a princess from the Rus'. See: József

under pain of death they should lay aside the pagan rites which had formerly been permitted to them, and that they should return to the true faith of Christ and live in all things according to the law which King St. Stephen had taught them.⁴³⁹ In these days died Levente, who if he had lived longer and come to power over the kingdom would beyond doubt have corrupted all Hungary with paganism and idolatry. And because Levente did not live in the Catholic faith, he is buried near the village of Taksony on the further side of the Danube, where his grandfather Taksony is said to lie in a pagan grave.

87. It is said that these three brothers were the sons of Duke Vazul by some girl from the kindred of Tátony and were not born of a legitimate bed, and that through this conjunction they derived their nobility from Tátony. This is most certainly a false and most evil tale. Not for this reason are they nobles, but because they are the sons of Ladislav the Bald, who is said to have taken a wife from Ruthenia to whom these three brothers were born.⁴⁴⁰

88. King Andrew was called the White and the Catholic.⁴⁴¹ With his arms he compelled in three years the Poles, the Czechs and the Austrians to pay tribute to the Hungarians.⁴⁴² Having lost one brother, King Andrew sent to Poland to his other brother Béla, calling him with great love and saying: "Once we shared poverty and labor together, and now I ask you, most beloved brother, that you come to me without tarrying, so that we may be companions in joy and share in the good things of the kingdom, rejoicing in each other's presence. For I have neither heir nor brother except you. You shall be my heir, and you shall succeed me in the kingdom." Won by these words, Béla came to the king with all his family.

Gerics, "Quaedam puella de genere Tatun," *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Sectio historica* 9 (1967), pp. 3–30.

⁴⁴¹ The reasons to give such nicknames are not clear, cf. also ch. 80, for Béla the Benyn.

⁴⁴² Sure, it is an exaggeration, though there were minor campaigns, like in 1054 the expelled Conrad I duke of Bavaria attacked Carinthia with a Hungarian army.

de, quia fraterno fulcitus est robore. Post hec autem rex et frater eius Bela habito consilio diviserunt regnum in tres partes, quarum due in proprietate^a regie maiestatis seu potestatis manserunt, tertia vero pars in proprietatem ducis est collata. Hec igitur prima regni huius divisio seminarium fuit discordie et guerrarum inter duces et reges Hungarie.⁴⁴³ Eo tempore rex Andreas iuxta lacum Balatun construxit monasterium in honore Sancti Aniani in loco, qui dicitur Tyhon. Duxit autem sibi uxorem filiam ducis Ruthenorum, de qua genuit Salomonem et David. De concubina autem, quam habuit de villa Moroth, genuit Georgium.⁴⁴⁴ Porro dux Bela in Polonia genuit liberos Geysam et Ladizlaum, in Hungaria autem genuit Lampertum et filias.⁴⁴⁵ Vivebantque rex et dux in magna pacis tranquillitate.

89. DE REGE THEUTONICORUM

⁴⁴⁶Eo tempore Teutonicorum rex⁴⁴⁷ cum magno exercitu obsedit castrum Poson, volens iniuriam Petri vindicare et Hungariam suo dominio subiugare. Extruxit autem multas machinas bellicas ad pugnandum castrum, et per octo ebdomadas obsidendo nichil profecit. Venerat enim predictus rex navigio ad obsidendum castrum Poson. Tunc Hungari, qui in castro erant, natatorie prudentissimum invenerunt hominem nomine Zothmund, quem noctis in silentio ad naves^b imperatoris miserunt, qui sub aqua veniens omnes

^a proprietate] proprietatem *Ms*

^b in silentio ad naves *bis*

⁴⁴³ On the significance of this agreement and the following dynastic conflicts, see the study of Daniel Bagi in *Studies*, pp. 139–58.

⁴⁴⁴ King Andrew's wife was Anastasia, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, grand duke of Novgorod and Kiev (reigned 1016–18, 1019–1054). Her contemporary picture survived in the cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. King Andrew also had a daughter, called Adelaide, married c. 1057 to Vrastilav II, duke of the Czechs (reigned 1061–92, from 1085 king). No further informations about George survived, the village Marót could be today Pilismarót (though there were a number of settlements in Hungary called 'Marót' which means 'Moravian'). Szabolcs de Vajay (in *Turul* 72, 1999, p. 18) suggested that he was named George because of Orthodox influence.

When the king saw him, he rejoiced *with a great joy*, because he was supported by his brother's strength. Then the king and his brother Béla took counsel and divided the kingdom into three parts, of which two remained in the possession or power of the royal majesty and the third was put into the possession of the duke. This first division of the kingdom became the seed of discord and wars between the dukes and the kings of Hungary. King Andrew built at that time a monastery near Lake Balaton in honor of St. Anianus at a place which is called Tihany.⁴⁴³ He took to wife a daughter of the duke of the Ruthenians, by whom he begot Solomon and David. Also by a concubine that he had from the village of Marót he begot George.⁴⁴⁴ In Poland, Prince Béla had begot his children Géza and Ladislas, and in Hungary he also begot Lampert and daughters.⁴⁴⁵ The king and the duke lived in a great tranquility of peace.

89. THE KING OF THE GERMANS

⁴⁴⁶At that time the king of the Germans⁴⁴⁷ besieged the castle of Pressburg with a large army, wishing to avenge the injuries done to Peter and to subject Hungary to his dominion. He therefore erected many machines of war to subdue the castle, but after eight weeks of siege he had accomplished nothing. For the aforesaid king had come by boat to lay siege to the castle of Pressburg; but the Hungarians who were in the castle found a man, Zotmund by name, who was a most skilful swimmer, and in the night they sent him silently to the emperor's ships, and swimming under water he

⁴⁴⁵ They were the future kings, Géza I, and Ladislas I.; the daughters: Sophia (married to Ulric, a Carinthian lord, later to Magnus, duke of Saxony), Euphemia (married to Otto, duke of Olomouc), Helen (married to the Croatian King Zvonimir), and a fourth, who married Lampert of the Hont-Pázmány kindred.

⁴⁴⁶ Hist. in.: In front of a walled town (top, Pressburg); three figures—a crowned king (Henry III) and two knights—standing in a boat, two others, with gestures of despair in another sinking boat in a river (Danube).

⁴⁴⁷ Henry III, German king 1039–56, emperor since 1046, attacked Hungary in 1052.

naves perforavit, que subito aqua plene facte sunt, et potentia Teutonicorum contrita est, et sic effeminati enervatique viribus reversi sunt ad propria. [62] Multi enim milites erant in Poson, sed precipui erant inter eos Woytech, Endre, Vylungard, Vrosa et Martinus,⁴⁴⁸ qui cottidie cum Teutonicis dimicabant acriter.

90. Sequenti vero anno⁴⁴⁹ cesar cum magna multitudine bellatorum ob easdem causas venit in Hungariam iuxta fontes rivorum Zala et Zelice. Sed et naves victuales^a oneratas per Danubium misit in Hungariam prefecitque eis episcopum Gebarth fratrem <suum>.⁴⁵⁰ Hiis auditis Andreas rex et dux Bela omnes acervos segetum et tirsos herbarum igne conbusserunt, habitatoresque cum universis animalibus eorum de partibus illis, per quas cesar erat transiturus, procul abduxerunt. Cumque cesar intrasset ad Hungariam et venisset in regiones combustas, neque militibus suis invenire potuit victualia, nec equis et nesciebat, ubi naves eius essent nullumque subsidium ex eis poterat habere. Transiens autem silvas appropinquavit montibus Bodohot omnium victualium penuria laborans. Interea autem Gebarth episcopus venit in Geurinum et mittens epistolam ad Herricum cesarem, sciscitabatur ab eo, ubi deberet ipsum expectare. Is autem, qui ferebat litteram, Deo sic volente, captus est a latrunculis⁴⁵¹ Andree regis et ad eum ductus. Cumque Nicolao episcopo⁴⁵² interpretante tenorem litterarum percepissent, rescripserunt episcopo Gebarth litteras, quas per quendam hospitem⁴⁵³ eidem miserunt. Ille autem simulans se a

^a victuales] *recte* victualibus

⁴⁴⁸ Vojtech, Andrew, and Martin were mentioned in the foundation deed of Tihany (1055) see DHA 1: p. 152.

⁴⁴⁹ On the contrary, these events happened a year earlier in 1051. Chapters 89 and 90 were misplaced in the manuscript; hence the faulty chronology.

⁴⁵⁰ Gebhard III was bishop of Regensburg (1036–60), half brother of Conrad II (consequently Henry III was his uncle), participated regularly in the imperial campaigns to Italy and also to Hungary in 1044 and 1050. The following story is told differently in the Annals of Niederaltaich, not mentioning the ships but the starving of the troops. This is also confirmed by a passage in the *Vita Benmonis II. episcopi Osnabrugensis auctore Nortberto abbate Iburgensi* (MGH SrG 56, p. 6).

made holes in all the ships, so that they immediately filled with water. Thus the power of the Germans was broken and, weakened and enervated, they returned home. There were many brave warriors in Pressburg, but the chief among them were Vojtech, Andrew, Vylungard, Urosa and Martin,⁴⁴⁸ who fought fiercely with the Germans every day.

90. In the following year,⁴⁴⁹ the emperor with a great body of warriors entered Hungary with the same purposes at a point between the sources of the rivers Zala and Zselice. He also sent ships laden with foodstuffs down the Danube into Hungary, and in charge of them he placed his brother, Bishop Gebhard.⁴⁵⁰ When they heard this, King Andrew and Duke Béla set fire to all the stores of corn and ticks of hay, and they moved the inhabitants with all their animals far from those parts through which the emperor might pass. When the emperor entered Hungary and came to the burnt down regions, he could find food neither for his warriors nor for his horses; and not knowing where his ships were, he could get no sustenance from them. With great labor because of the scarcity of all food, he made his way through the forests and drew near to the mountains at Bodajk. Meanwhile Bishop Gebhard arrived at Győr and sent a letter to Emperor Henry, in which he asked where he should await him. By the will of God, the bearer of the letter was captured by King Andrew's scouts⁴⁵¹ and brought to him. After the letter of Bishop Gebhard had been interpreted to them by Bishop Nicholas,⁴⁵² they wrote an answer to it which they sent to him by a settler.⁴⁵³ Pretending that he had been sent by the emperor, he

Remarkably, in this context (cap. 6) Norbert mentioned "popular fables and vulgar songs," probable parallels to those on the Hungarian side, such as the one on the Vértes Mtn. (see below on p. 173. n. 461).

⁴⁵¹ The Latin word 'latrunculi' used here reflects the despise concerning the light armored cavalry vs. heavy armored knights.

⁴⁵² He is supposed to be identical with the *notarius* of the foundation deed of Tihany (1055).

⁴⁵³ The chronicler used the term applied to foreign (German, Latin) settlers in the kingdom.

cesare missum obtulit litteras Gebarth episcopo talia continentes: Noveris, optime Gebarth episcope, quod magna et ardua negotia nostri imperii nos ab Hungaria in Teutonium ire conpellunt, nam inimici nostri imperium nostrum hostiliter occuparunt. Ergo age, festina et destructis navibus, quam citius poteris, nobis Ratispone occurras. Nec enim tibi tutum est amplius in Hungaria commorari. Hiis itaque cognitis Gebarth episcopus festinanter fugit in Teutonium.⁴⁵⁴ Cesar igitur spe sustentationis, quam a navibus expectabat, frustratus ad mortem inceptit egere, similiter et universus exercitus eius cum equis et subvectoribus miserabiliter fame periclitabantur. Insuper etiam Hungari et Bisseni sin[63]gulis noctibus acriter eos infestabant, toxicatis sagittis eos interficiendo et funes extendentes inter papiliones^a eorum, quamplures aliqua servitia facientes rapiabant. Pre timore autem imbrium sagittarum, quibus Teutonici conpluebantur et consumeabantur, fodiebant sibi terram et desper insertis clipeis etiam vivi cum mortuis iacebant in sepulchris. Nam sepulchrum, quod mortuo fodiebatur, vivus iacebat in eo de nocte, et quod vivo fodiebatur pro nocte, mortuus sibi vendicabat de die.⁴⁵⁵ Cesar ergo videns tot et tantis periculis se esse perplexum misit ad Andream regem et Belam ducem rogans perpetue pacis firmitatem. Dicebat enim, quod si rex Andreas securum ei iter preberet ad revertendum et exercitui suo fame oppresso subsidia vite largiretur, ipse numquam Andree regi et successoribus eius inimicaretur et numquam ammodo regem Hungarorum dictis vel factis aut consilio ledere attemptaret. Sed etiam si quis de successoribus suis ad debellandam Hungariam arma moveret, indignationem omnipotentis Dei incurreret et perpetuo eius anathemati subiace-

^a papiliones] pampiliones *Ms*

⁴⁵⁴ This story was borrowed from the chronicle into the St. Stephen's Greater legend (ch. 14.; see CEMT 7), and later into the St. Stephen's Life by Hartvic (ch. 16, cf. Berend in: Head, pp. 388–9). It is a proof that around the years of the canonization (1083) of Stephen I this part of the chronicle existed. A similar stratagem is told in the *Reichschronik* of the Annalista Saxo ad annum 1108 (MGH SS 37, p. 539) and is unclear who borrowed from whom. On the trick with a letter, see also Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk im Mitteleuropa 567–822. n. Chr.*, p. 135 (Munich: Beck, 1988).

delivered to Bishop Gebhard a letter with this content: "Know, most excellent Bishop Gebhard, that great and difficult affairs of our empire compel us to return from Hungary to Germany; for our enemies have seized our empire by force. Therefore act swiftly, and having destroyed the ships, meet us as quickly as possible at Regensburg. For it is not safe for you to stay longer in Hungary." Having read it, Bishop Gebhard fled in haste to Germany.⁴⁵⁴ Disappointed in his hope of the provisions which he had been awaiting from the ships, the emperor was in mortal distress and his whole army together with the horses and the beasts of burden was in danger of perishing miserably from starvation. Moreover every night the Hungarians and Pechenegs harried them fiercely; they killed them with poisoned arrows, and stretching ropes between their tents they snared them as they went about their work. For fear of the rain of arrows which showered upon them and destroyed them, the Germans dug themselves into the ground and made a shelter with their shields, and there they lay, the living with the dead in their graves. For in the grave which was dug for a dead man, a living man lay at night; and the place dug for a living man in the night housed a dead man during the day.⁴⁵⁵ The emperor, finding himself beset with so many and so great dangers sent to King Andrew and Duke Béla and sued for perpetual peace. He said that if King Andrew would provide for him a safe way of return and would give to his famished army the means to keep alive, he would never be an enemy of King Andrew or his successors, and he would henceforth never attempt in any way to offend the king of the Hungarians by word, deed or counsel. But if any of his successors should take up arms to make war against Hungary, then let him incur the wrath of the almighty God and lie under His eternal

⁴⁵⁵ A similar literary description is to be found in the Anonymus of Lodi, see *Italische Quellen über die Taten Kaiser Friedrich I. in Italien und der Brief über den Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, Franz- Josef Schmale, ed., p. 228 (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchg., 1986, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 17).

ret.⁴⁵⁶ Filiam quoque suam Sophiam nomine⁴⁵⁷ Salomoni filio regis Andree daret in uxorem, quam primitus filio regis Francie cum maximo dederat sacramento,⁴⁵⁸ propter perpetue pacis federa firmitus roboranda. Hec autem omnia fideliter servaturum iusiurandi religione interposita confirmabat. Rex itaque Andreas et dux Bela, magis amatores pacis, quam discordie seminatores esse volentes, pacem cum cesare composuerunt. Cesar autem in propria persona sua iureiurando confirmavit omnia, que dixerat, fideliter facturum.⁴⁵⁹ Tunc rex Andreas solita regum Hungarie largitate utendo misit cesari quinquaginta corpora inmensorum usonum⁴⁶⁰ et duo milia lardorum, mille tauros ingentes, de panibus autem plus quam secum ferre poterant. Oves quoque et boves, seu pecudes pascuales et vini copiam supereffluentem. Plurimi etiam Teutonicorum de inmoderata ciborum <di>gestione et potus ingurgitatione crapulati et infusi mortui sunt. Residui vero a faucibus mortis miseratione Hungarorum liberati relictis tentoriis et clipeis et universis supellectilibus suis abiectis adeo concitato cursu in Teutoniam redire [64] properarunt, quod nec retro prospicerent. Ex hoc autem eventu locus ille, unde Teutonici tam turpiter dedecorati abiectis clipeis fugerunt, usque hodie Werteshege nuncupatur.⁴⁶¹

91. DE CORONATIONE SALOMONIS PATRE SUO ANDREA REGE ADHUC VIVENTE

⁴⁶²Postquam autem cesar Herricus cum tanto dedecore fugit in terram suam de Ungaria, rex Andreas mittens ad eum legatos pe-

⁴⁵⁶ These words sound like a fragment of a sanction/poena formula of a contemporary peace treaty between the Germans and Hungarians.

⁴⁵⁷ The author mistook Judith, the wife of Solomon (born c. 1047) for the daughter of King Béla II, Sophie who lived and died at Admont. Solomon was born c. 1053; he was engaged to Judith in 1058.

⁴⁵⁸ He would be Philip, son of Henry I king of France (1056–1106), but this reference is rather a fictive addition of the chronicler.

⁴⁵⁹ It was Henry IV (1056–1106), the son of Henry III in 1058. The death of Henry III was recorded in the Annals of Pressburg (ad a. 1055/6, SRH 1: p. 125). Anyway, it is a sign that the chronology of the Hungarian chronicle became confused in the 1050s.

curse.⁴⁵⁶ His daughter, named Sophie,⁴⁵⁷ whom he had previously most solemnly betrothed to the son of the king of France,⁴⁵⁸ he would give as wife to King Andrew's son Solomon in order to confirm more strongly the treaties of perpetual peace. He bound himself with a sacred oath faithfully to perform all these things. King Andrew and Duke Béla, wishing to be greater lovers of peace than cowers of strife, came to terms with the emperor. The emperor confirmed in by a personal oath that he would faithfully perform all those things which he had said.⁴⁵⁹ Then with the accustomed generosity of the kings of Hungary King Andrew sent to the emperor fifty huge sturgeon⁴⁶⁰ and two thousand pigs, a thousand great bulls, more bread than they could carry, also sheep and cattle of every kind, and wine in superabundance. With their ravening of the food and swilling of the drink many of the Germans became so drunken and gorged that they died. The remainder, delivered from the jaws of death by the compassion of the Hungarians and abandoning tents and shields and all their gear, returned to Germany in such haste that they never looked back. Hence the place, from which the Germans fled, having shamefully disgraced themselves by abandoning their shields, is called to this day *Vérteshegy*.⁴⁶¹

91. CORONATION OF SOLOMON DURING THE LIFETIME OF HIS FATHER, KING ANDREW

⁴⁶²After the Emperor Henry had fled in such disgrace from Hungary to his own land, King Andrew sent ambassadors to him and

⁴⁶⁰ A subspecies of giant sturgeon, called 'viza' in Hungarian, a heavy, 4–6 meter long sea fish coming from the Black Sea up the Danube, often mentioned in medieval charters and travelers' diaries.

⁴⁶¹ This story is also mentioned by Anon. (ch. 50, p. 107); the Hungarian word 'vért' means here 'shield' and 'hegy' means 'hill.' SK (ch. 57, pp. 126–31) has the story differently.

⁴⁶² Hist. in: Two scenes; (a) right: figure in ermine-lined robe and "ducal" cap (Béla) warned by a doorkeeper in front of the door; (b) left: in a chamber, crowned naked king (Andrew) in bed, attended by two men and a crowned child (Solomon) with a crown and a sword at the foot of the bed addressing the same figure (Béla) standing in the door.

tivit ab eo, ut Sophiam filiam suam Salomoni filio suo matrimonio copulandam, ut promiserat, concederet. Cesar autem quemadmodum iureiurando promiserat, fideliter conplevit. Regalibus itaque nuptiis iuxta fluvium Morua celebratis et federibus pacis firmiter roboratis cesar et rex cum gaudio sunt reversi.⁴⁶³ At rex Andreas post hec cito incidit in paralisim et tam nivali quam estivali tempore super traham ferebatur.⁴⁶⁴ Post mortem itaque sancti regis Stephani transacti sunt anni undecim, menses quatuor usque ad annum primum imperii Andree regis. Interea vero Petrus Teutonicus vel verius Venetus primo et secundo regnavit annis quinque et dimidio. Aba vero regnavit annis tribus.⁴⁶⁵ Quia vero carnalis amor et consanguineitatis affectio solet impedire veritatem, vicit amor filialis in Andrea rege iustitiam⁴⁶⁶ et rupto federe sue promissionis, quod in regibus esse non deberet, filium suum Salomonem infantulum adhuc quinque annorum super totam Hungariam anno imperii sui duodecimo confectus senio in regem fecit inungi et coronari.⁴⁶⁷ Simulabat enim, quod pro ditione^a regni hoc faceret, quia imperator filiam suam filio suo Salomoni non dedisset, si non eum coronaret. Cum autem in coronatione Salomonis canerent: *Esto dominus fratrum tuorum*⁴⁶⁸ et hoc per interpretem Bele duci innotuisset, quod Salomon infantulus sibi dominus constitueretur, graviter est indignatus.

92. Dicunt alii,⁴⁶⁹ quod [65] Bela duce et filiis eius, Geycha scilicet et Ladizlao cunctisque regni optimatibus consentientibus Salomon unctus esset in regem, <sed> postmodum seminato<ribus> discor-

^a pro ditione] pro perditione *Ms*

⁴⁶³ Dated 1058.

⁴⁶⁴ The deterioration of his health is noted in the *Chronicle* of Bernold of Constance (MGH SSrG NS 14, p. 189).

⁴⁶⁵ Confused numbers.

⁴⁶⁶ The German king was accused by Pope Gregory VII during the investiture contest with "carnal love" while making his son a king; perhaps here we find a reference to this polemical literature.

⁴⁶⁷ The coronation took place in 1057, recorded also by the Annals of Pressburg (SRH 1: p. 125).

asked him to give his daughter Sophie, as he had promised, to be joined in matrimony to his son Solomon. What he had promised and sworn, the emperor faithfully fulfilled. The royal marriage was celebrated by the river Morava and the treaties of peace were firmly established, whereupon the emperor and the king returned home with joy.⁴⁶³ But soon after this King Andrew was smitten with the palsy, and both in wintry and summer weather he was borne upon a litter.⁴⁶⁴ From the death of King St. Stephen to the first year of the reign of King Andrew was a space of eleven years and four months. Within this time, the first and second reigns of Peter the German, or more truly the Venetian, had together lasted five and a half years, and Aba had ruled for three years.⁴⁶⁵ Because carnal love and ties of blood are wont to prove a hindrance to truthfulness, in King Andrew love for his son overcame justice,⁴⁶⁶ so that he broke the treaty of his promise, which kings ought not do; in the twelfth year of his reign, subdued by old age, he caused his son Solomon, who was still a child of five years, to be anointed and crowned king over all Hungary.⁴⁶⁷ He pretended that he did this for the sake of the standing of his kingdom, for the emperor would not have given his daughter to his son Solomon unless he had crowned him. When therefore they sang at Solomon's coronation "*Be lord over thy brethren*"⁴⁶⁸ and it was told to Duke Béla by an interpreter that the infant Solomon had been made lord over him, he very much resented it.

92. Others say⁴⁶⁹ that Solomon was anointed king with the consent of Duke Béla and his sons Géza and Ladislav as well as of all the great men of the realm, and that only later did sewers of strife arouse hatred between them. For whisperers, such as are fancied in our times, made urgent suggestions to the king that Solomon

⁴⁶⁸ This line borrowed from Gen 27: 29 is a part of a prayer "*Omnipotens det tibi*," contained in medieval coronation ordines, quoting the name of David and Solomon. This passage gave rise to extensive speculations about the use of an Anglo-Saxon *ordo* at this coronation.

⁴⁶⁹ Perhaps a trace of an alternative historical tradition, but we have no further informations about it.

die^a instigantibus ortum est inter eos <odium>. Susurratores enim, quales nostris temporibus complacent, precipue suggerebant regi, non posse regnare Salomonem, nisi fratre suo Bela extincto. Ab alia vero parte duci Bele persuadebant, quod tempus opportunum esset regnum acquirere, dum Salomon puerulus esset et pater eius senio confectus ac valitudinarius.⁴⁷⁰ Venerunt itaque rex et dux in Varkun.⁴⁷¹ Rex autem cognoscebat, quod filius suus absque voluntate ducis post obitum suum regnare non posset. Vocavit ad consilium suum duos fideles suos, cum quibus consilium iniit dicens: Volo attemptare ducem et in duobus interrogare, si vult habere coronam vel ducatum. Fecitque rex ei coronam iacere ante se super rubeum strame<n>tum et gladium iuxta, qui ducatum designat. Si ducatum dux cum bona pace habere voluerit, habeat, si vero coronam, statim vos duo principes surgite et eodem gladio ducem Belam decollate. Et illi promiserunt se facturos. Cum autem hoc consilium inirent, comes preconum Nicolaus tenens hostium pallacii de foris hec omnia audivit. Cumque ducem ad regem vocassent et in hostio intraret, dixit citissime duci causam <comes> preconum: Si vitam optas, accipe gladium, et plus dicere non potuit. Cum autem dux intravit, vidit coronam iacentem cum gladio ante regem et mirabatur. Statimque cum sedisset, rex iacens se levavit et in lecto sedens dixit: Dux, ego coronavi filium meum, non tamen causa cupiditatis, sed pro ditione^b regni, que nudius tertius ab imperatore acta fuere. Sed tu voluntatem liberam habeas, si vis regnum, accipe coronam, si ducatum, accipe gladium, ex hiis aliud concedas filio meo, sed corona cum iustitia tua est. Statim dux cognovit de verbis Nicolai comitis et dixit: Habeat filius tuus coronam, qui unctus est, et da mihi ducatum. Statimque gladium accepit.⁴⁷² Rex itaque

^a seminato<ribus> discordie] seminatorium discordie *Ms*

^b pro ditione] perditione *Ms*

⁴⁷⁰ He would have been born c. 1015.

⁴⁷¹ Today Tiszavárkony.

⁴⁷² That the sword symbolized the duchy—in contrast to the crown—was self-evident. There does not seem to have been a specific sign of office for the dukes, even if a kind of “ducal cap” appears in several miniatures and exceptionally even a “ducal crown” is mentioned in the Annals of Pressburg (SRH 1: p. 126) This choice led some scholars

could not reign unless his brother Béla were killed. From the other side it was impressed upon Duke Béla that the time was opportune to gain the kingdom while Solomon was a young child and his father was ailing and worn out with age.⁴⁷⁰ Thus the king and the duke came to Várkony⁴⁷¹ and the king realized that without the duke's consent his son could not rule after his decease. He summoned for counsel two faithful followers and in council with them devised a plan, saying: "I wish to make trial of the duke and to put to him a double question, whether he wishes to have the crown or the duchy." The king caused the crown to be laid on red samite before him and beside it a sword, which is the symbol of a dukedom. "If the duke shall choose in friendship and peace to have the duchy, he shall have it; but if the crown, then do you two magnates arise forthwith and with that same sword behead Duke Béla." And they promised to do so. While they were making this plan, Nicholas, the master of the doorkeepers, who was on guard at the palace gate, heard all these things from without. When they had summoned the duke to the king and he was going in at the gate, the master of the doorkeepers said very quickly to the duke: "If you choose life, take the sword," and he could say no more. When the duke entered, he saw the crown lying with the sword before the king, and he marveled. As soon as he was seated, the king, who was lying down, raised himself and sat up in his bed, and said: "Duke! I have crowned my son not from motives of greed, but because of the treaty lately made between this kingdom and the emperor. But you shall have free choice: if you wish the kingdom, take the crown; if the dukedom, take the sword; whichever is not your choice, give that to my son; but in justice the crown is yours." At once the duke understood Nicholas's words and said: "Let your son have the crown since he has been anointed and give me the duchy." And forthwith he took the sword.⁴⁷² Then the king

to argue that the coronation of Andrew I was celebrated according to an Anglo-Saxon *ordo* that does not contain the usual reference to a royal sword ("*accipe gladium &c.*") and thus the sword would have been explicitly not a royal insignia. While this is not impossible, the Várkony episode offers a weak argument for the hypothesis. More on this, see Bagi, in: *Studies* pp. 139–58.

inclinavit se ad pedes eius, quod raro factum est. Putabat enim de eadem simplicitate dedisse coronam filio suo, sicut sibi Levente dederat. Sed dux pre timore hoc fecerat. Tandem sinistris suggestionibus malorum [66] hominum rex et dux discordaverunt.

93. Dux autem erat sicut sagacissimus precavens sibi ab insidiis regis cum omni familia sua secessit in Poloniam ad socerum suum.⁴⁷³ Quod audiens rex Andreas timens illius machinamenta, filium suum Salomonem transmisit ad imperatorem socerum suum.⁴⁷⁴ Secuti sunt autem eum plurimi primates Hungarie. Interea dux Bela omnem iniuriam, quam ei frater suus rex Andreas intulerat, notificavit socero suo duci Polonie. Dux autem Polonie auxiliatus est ei fideliter et efficaciter. Dux itaque Bela tribus agminibus socii sui munitus reversus est in Hungariam. Rex autem Andreas prenoscens eum cum exercitu intrasse in Hungariam, ab imperatore Teutonicorum duos duces, videlicet Vilelmum et Poth⁴⁷⁵ in auxilium suum fecit adduci. Ducem quoque Bohemorum, qui consanguineitate eidem attinebat,⁴⁷⁶ mercede conduxit et confidebat in multitudine conductorum. Hungaros autem non multos habebat, quamplurimi enim Salomonem filium suum secuti fuerant, et ex hiis, qui in regno remanserant, plurimi ad ducem Belam confluxerant. Nunciatum est autem Bele duci, quod rex Andreas maximam haberet multitudinem conductorum, elegitque magis mori in bello, quam sine pugna ab exercitu regis declinare. Tunc intrepidus concitatum duxit exercitum super Andream regem versus Tysciam. Vilelmus vero et Poth duces Theutonicorum furore concitati cum agminibus suis festinanter Tysciam transierunt, et conmisso prelio ab utraque parte fortiter est pugnatum. Sed adiuvente Deo dux

⁴⁷³ Duke Bolesław II.

⁴⁷⁴ Béla's brother-in-law was Casimir I of Poland, but in 1060 his son, Bolesław II (1058–799) was the duke. Solomon's father-in-law was Henry III, who was dead at that time. A possible explanation would be that the chronicler used the terms "*gener, socer*" in a broader sense, e.g., in ch. 97 (below, p. 186–7). where *gener* stands for the relationship of Solomon and Henry IV.

⁴⁷⁵ They are named in the Annals of Niederaltaich (p. 57). William III, margrave of Meissen (1046–62) planned to marry Sophie, the daughter of King Béla I, but died earlier.

bowed down at his feet, which is a rare thing. For he thought that he had given the crown to his son in the same simplicity of spirit as Levente had given it to him. But the duke had done so out of fear. At last through the evil suggestion of wicked men there came enmity between the king and the duke.

93. Being a most prudent man, the duke took his precautions against treachery on the part of the king, and removed with all his family to his father-in-law in Poland.⁴⁷³ When he heard this, King Andrew was afraid of what his brother might contrive, and sent his son Solomon to his father-in-law, the emperor.⁴⁷⁴ Many of the great men of Hungary followed him. Meanwhile Duke Béla informed his father-in-law, the duke of Poland, of all the wrong done to him by his brother, King Andrew. The duke of Poland helped him faithfully and to good effect. Thus at the head of three columns supplied by his father-in-law Béla returned to Hungary. King Andrew was informed beforehand of his entry into Hungary with an army and obtained from the emperor of the Germans the aid of two dukes, namely William and Poth.⁴⁷⁵ He also hired the services of the duke of the Czechs, who was related to him by blood,⁴⁷⁶ and relied upon large forces of mercenaries; he could not call upon many Hungarians, since great numbers had followed his son Solomon, and of those who remained in the kingdom very many had gone over to Duke Béla. It was announced to Duke Béla that King Andrew had a very great multitude of paid warriors, but he chose rather to die in battle than to retreat before the king's army without a fight. So he boldly and swiftly led his army towards the Tisza against King Andrew. The dukes William and Poth, leading their columns in forced marches with all the fury of the Teutons, speedily crossed the Tisza; and battle having been joined, both sides

⁴⁷⁶ Vratislav II was duke of the Czechs 1061–92 (previously duke of Olomouc) married the daughter of Andrew I, Adelaide in the 1050's. In 1060 the duke of the Czechs in Prague was still Spytihněv II (1055–61). Both of them have been considered for this passage.

Bela victoriam obtinuit, fere omnibus Teutonicis ibidem interfec-
tis et ducibus eorum comprehensis. Porro Hungari, qui erant apud
regem Andream, videntes victoriam fecisse ducem Belam dimisso
rege Andrea versi sunt ad ducem Belam. Rex autem Andreas fugit
versus Teutonium, sed evadere non potuit. Captus est enim ad por-
tas Musun et negligenter detentus in silva Bocon ad crucem^a suam,
que dicitur Scirc,⁴⁷⁷ mortuus est. Sepultus est autem in monasterio
Sancti Aniani confessoris, quod idem rex construxit in Tihon iuxta
lacum Balaton.⁴⁷⁸ Sed et dux Bohemorum captus est et sine scitu
ducis Bele exoculatus.⁴⁷⁹ Vilel[67]mus vero et Poth duces adducti
sunt ad Belam ducem, qui eos liberos abire permisit.⁴⁸⁰

94. DUX BELA FELICITER CORONATUR IN REGEM

⁴⁸¹Dux igitur Bela vocatus Benyn⁴⁸² victor cum triumpho venit in
civitatem Albam, ibique regali dyademate inungentibus eum epi-
scopis feliciter est coronatus. Tenuit autem regnum pacifice, sine
molestatione hostium et quesivit bona genti sue. Inter cetera si-
quidem peritiae sue argumenta fecit fabricari nummos magne mo-
nete ex purissimo argento et pretium rerum venalium secundum
<certam>^b quantitatem iusto moderamine discrete rationis con-
stituit. Non enim permittebat mercatores et nummularios per de-
testabilem avaritiae voraginem a simplicibus et rusticis superfluum
lucrum congregare. Hec est enim causa, que maxime solet populos

^a *forse recte* curtem

^b <certam>] terram *Ms*

⁴⁷⁷ The Cistercian convent in Zirc, in the middle of the Bakony Forest was founded by King Béla III in 1182 on a royal estate, where from the eleventh century a royal *curtis* with a chapel existed.

⁴⁷⁸ His death is noted also in the Annals of Niederaltaich (p. 57). The Benedictine monastery was founded by King Andrew I in 1055 dedicated to the Holy Virgin and St. Anian; the foundation deed (DHA 1: pp. 144–52) contains the earliest Hungarian sentence in written form. The excavated empty royal tomb is now attributed to King Andrew I, though earlier it was suggested that it was Prince David's.

⁴⁷⁹ Nothing of the sort happened to Duke Vratislav or Spytihnev. On blinding of princes, see above, n. 352 on p. 127.

fought bravely. But Duke Béla with God's help gained the victory, almost all the Germans being killed and their leaders captured. The Hungarians in the ranks of King Andrew, seeing Duke Béla victorious, deserted King Andrew and went over to Duke Béla. King Andrew fled towards Germany, but he could not escape. He was captured at the Moson gateway, and was detained in his chapel which is called Zirc, in the forest of Bakony,⁴⁷⁷ where he was treated with neglect and died. He was buried in the monastery of St. Anianus the confessor, which he had himself built at Tihany, near Lake Balaton.⁴⁷⁸ The duke of the Czechs was also captured, and without the knowledge of Duke Béla his eyes were put out.⁴⁷⁹ The dukes William and Poth were brought to Duke Béla, who allowed them to depart in freedom.⁴⁸⁰

94. DUKE BÉLA IS HAPPILY CROWNED KING

⁴⁸¹In triumph Duke Béla, called Benyn,⁴⁸² came as victor to the city of Fehérvár, and there the bishops anointed him and he was happily crowned with royal diadem. He reigned over the kingdom in peace, unmolested by enemies, and he sought the good of his people. Among other proofs of his wisdom, he caused money to be minted in large coins of purest silver, and with justice and discretion he fixed what quantity of things was to be sold for a just price. He did not allow merchants and money-changers in their detestable avariciousness to accumulate a superfluity of profit from the simple country people. For this especially is the cause why the people are exposed

⁴⁸⁰ William, the margrave of Saxony engaged Sophie, the daughter of King Béla in 1061, as the *Annals of Niederaltaich* (p. 58) recorded. Poth (*ibid.*, p. 57), Poto was a Bavarian count from the Aribo clan.

⁴⁸¹ Hist. in.: Left: two robed men remove the crown of a small person (Solomon); right: the same two men place a crown on the head of a figure in doublet holding orb and sword (Béla).

⁴⁸² Heinrich von Mügeln (*Chronicon*, ed. Eugenius [Jenő] Travník, SRH 2: p. 172) dated the event to 6 December 1060.

paupertatis et inopie periculis obvolvere, sed <secundum> statutum pretium unusquisque vendebat et emebat sine iniuria et circumventionem. Iste etenim omnia fora die Sabbati constituit pro vendendo et emendo, bizantiosque^a misit currere per districtum regni sui.⁴⁸³ Argenteos etiam denarios, ut supra scriptum est, cudere fecit, quorum quadraginta bizancius census erat. Unde et nunc denarii numero quadraginta aurum appellantur, non quod sint aurei, sed quot tot denarii bizancium valere illo tempore videbantur.⁴⁸⁴ Omnibus enim, diebus vite sue in tota Hungaria non est mutata moneta. Multa etiam alia fecit sempiterna digna memoria.^b Omnium enim qui secuti fuerant Salomonem regem, uxores et filios et omnia, que habebant, integra et illesa fecit custodiri, ut ad eum sponte reverterentur, bonis suis in pace degerent. Unde plurimi de illis facti fideles redierunt. Alleviavit hic etiam <affectu> pietatis onus Hungarorum a debito servitio, relaxans eis consuetas [68] pensiones et antiquas exactiones. Quapropter Hungaria quamplurimum locupletata super omnes circumadiacentes regiones caput extulit vincentes eas divitiis et gloria.⁴⁸⁵ Tunc in ea pauperes locupletabantur et divites gloriabantur.

95. Misit etiam rex clementissimus per totam Hungariam precones, ut de singulis villis vocarentur duo seniores facundiam habentes ad regis consilium.⁴⁸⁶ Quo audito non tantum hii, qui vocati fuerant, sed etiam omnes rustici et servi⁴⁸⁷ cum universa plebe Hungarie venerunt ad regem in Albam.⁴⁸⁸ Rex autem et episcopi cunctique proceres videntes inmensam multitudinem timuerunt, ne forte irruer-

^a bizantiosque] bizantinosque *Ms*

^b sempiterna digna memoria] *recte* sempiternae dignae memorie

⁴⁸³ Modern historians hesitate about the authenticity of these informations; some of them think that the achievements of later kings are summarized in this chapter, to glorify the kings of the Vazul-line. It cannot be decided what was the reason that they, especially his monetary reform, became legendary.

⁴⁸⁴ This would mean that the exchange rate of the gold and silver was raised from 30 to 40.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. Ps 82: 3–4.

⁴⁸⁶ Dated 1060–61.

to the perils of poverty and penury; but now every man bought and sold at the fixed price without loss or cheat. All fairs for buying and selling he appointed to be held on Saturdays, and he made the bezant a current coin throughout his kingdom.⁴⁸³ As has been said above, he caused silver pennies to be minted, forty of which had the value of a bezant. Whence even today pence to the number of forty are called a gulden, not because they are golden, but because at that time this number of pence were held to be worth one bezant.⁴⁸⁴ Throughout all the days of his life the value of money did not change in all Hungary. Many other things he did worthy of eternal memory. He ordered that the wives and sons and all the property of all those who had followed King Solomon should be protected and kept safe and sound, so that they could return to him of their free will and enjoy in peace what was theirs. Very many of them therefore returned and came to be faithful to him. He also compassionately lightened the burden of service upon the Hungarians, easing for them the customary payments and the ancient exactions. Thus was Hungary made the wealthiest country and was exalted above all surrounding lands, surpassing them in riches and glory.⁴⁸⁵ Then in this country the poor became wealthy and the rich won glory.

95. The most clement king sent criers throughout all Hungary to summon two elders with gift of speech from each village to a take council with the king.⁴⁸⁶ At this news, not only those who had been summoned, but also all the peasants and bondsmen⁴⁸⁷ together with the whole common people of Hungary came to the king at Fehérvár.⁴⁸⁸ When the king and the bishops and all the lords saw the immense multitude of people, they were afraid lest they might

⁴⁸⁷ The term *servus* was used in the time of the writing of this part of the chronicle (eleventh-twelfth century) for different types of people obligated to services; their exact status has been subject of many discussions without a final consensus. This translation follows the one chosen in DRMH 1; see there p. 140. On this issue, see now Cameron Sutt, *Slavery in Árpád-era Hungary in a Comparative Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2015)

⁴⁸⁸ There is no other evidence for this kind of nationwide assembly in medieval Hungary except the legendary meetings of the *communitas*, e.g. in SK ch. 7, pp. 25–31.

rent in eos. Et intrantes civitatem observaverunt eam. Plebs autem constituit sibi prepositos, quibus preparaverunt orcistrum de lignis, unde ab hominibus possent videri et audiri. Prepositi vero miserunt ad regem et ad procures nuncios dicentes: Concede nobis ritum patrum nostrorum, <more> paganismo vivere, episcopos lapidare, presbiteros exentherare, clericos strangulare, decimatores suspendere, ecclesias destruere, campanas confr<i>ngere.^a Hiis auditis contristatus est rex, et petivit inducias dierum trium ad deliberandum super negotio. Interim vero prepositi plebis in eminenti suggestu residentes predicabant nephanda carmina contra fidem. Plebs^b autem tota congratulanter affirmabat: Fiat!, fiat! Cum autem tertia die responsum expectarent, milites armati ex precepto regis irruerunt super eos et aliquos ex eis obtruncaverunt, prepositosque eorum ab altis precipitando contriverunt, reliquos autem ligatos duris verberibus flagellaverunt. Et sic occidendo, ligando, flagellando seditionem eorum milites vix edomaverunt. Postquam enim sanctus rex Stephanus convertit Hungariam ad Christum, bis ad paganismum versa est: semel tempore regis <E>ndree,^{c, 489} secundo tempore regis Bele, sicut nunc scriptum est.

96. Piissimus autem rex Bela completo regni sui anno tertio in Demes regali allodio corridente solio⁴⁹⁰ confractus corpore irremediabiliter cepit egrotare. Duxeruntque eum seminecem ad rivulum Kynisua propter quasdam regni necessitates et ibi migravit a seculo.⁴⁹¹ Sepultus est autem in monasterio Sancti Salvatoris, quod ipse construxerat in loco, qui dicitur Zugzard. Hic enim Bela erat [69] calvus et in colore brunus, propterea suum monasterium ad suam dispositionem Zugzard appellavit.⁴⁹²

^a confr<i>ngere] confrangere *Ms*

^b *In margine manu XV saeculi* [H]ungari petebant a fide recedere

^c <E>ndree *var. Mss*] Handree *Ms*

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. above, chs. 82–4, pp. 154–9.

⁴⁹⁰ We have to imagine a construction with pillars and roof or baldachin, such as the one depicted on the title page of the IC and a few other miniatures.

perchance attack them. They withdrew into the castle and kept watch. The common people chose for themselves leaders and erected for them a wooden stand, from which they could be seen and heard by the people. The leaders sent messengers to the king and the lords, saying: "Grant to us the customs of our fathers, to live in the pagan manner, to stone the bishops, disembowel the priests, strangle the clerks, hang the tithe-collectors, pull down the churches, and break the bells." When he heard this, the king was saddened and asked for a delay of three days to deliberate upon the matter. Meanwhile the leaders of the people, seated on high, sang abominable songs against the faith. All the plebs thankfully approved: "So it be, so it be!" When on the third day they were awaiting the answer, on the order of the king armed warriors fell upon them; some of them they slew, the leaders they killed by throwing them down from the high stands, the rest they bound and scourged with heavy whips; and thus killing, binding and scourging the warriors with difficulty put down the revolt. After King St. Stephen converted Hungary to Christianity, the country twice turned to paganism. The first time was in the reign of King Andrew,⁴⁸⁹ and the second in the reign of Béla, as it has been now written.

96. When the most pious King Béla had completed the third year of his reign, he was severely injured on his royal estate at Dömös when his throne collapsed,⁴⁹⁰ and thus suffered from an incurable illness. On certain affairs of the kingdom they brought him half-dead to the small river Kőrös, and there he departed from this world.⁴⁹¹ He was buried in the monastery of the Holy Savior, which he had himself built in the place which is called Szekszárd. For Béla was bald and of a brown complexion, and therefore he gave the name of Szekszárd to his monastery.⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹ The king marched against the Germans, who entered the western borderland to support Solomon's cause. The river Kőrös should be somewhere around the river Répce in West Hungary. He died on 11 September 1063.

⁴⁹² The etymology of Szekszárd, as if from old Hung. *szeg* 'brown' and *szár* 'bald', is not entirely convincing; the meaning seem rather to be "dark brown" or "yellowish brown".

97. DE ADVENTU IMPERATORIS CUM REGE SALOMONE GENERO SUO

⁴⁹³Rex autem Salomon audita morte Bele regis accessit ad socerum suum, imperatorem Teutonicorum, rogavitque eum, ut regnum Hungarie sibi restitueret. Cuius precibus imperator libenter acquievit et cum illo nobili Romane artis exercitu⁴⁹⁴ et illustri cetu imperialis glorie Salomonem in Ungariam reduxit. Interim Geysa filius regis Bele, sicut erat prudens et circumspectus, cum duobus fratribus suis adolescentibus assumpsit se seorsum in partes Polonie. Non enim poterat impetum Salomonis et Teutonicorum tunc sustinere. Rex itaque Salomon cum imperatore sine difficultate intravit in Hungariam rege orbatam et securus venit in civitatem regiam Albam, ibique ab omni clero et populo totius Hungarie honorificentissime susceptus est. Concionatus est autem imperator ad universum cetum Hungarorum pro genero suo rege Salomone pacemque inter eos reformatam iusiurandi^a religione interposita confirmavit. Regem autem Salomonem in paterno solio glori<os>e coronatum cum assensu et clamatione totius Hungarie sedere fecit.⁴⁹⁵ Ipse vero imperator divite gaza Hungarie a rege Salomone largissime remuneratus prospere rediit ad propria. Statim autem, ut imperator discessit, Geysa illinc, quo se caute contulerat, in Hungariam accessit. Rex autem Salomon, tamquam novus et necdum in regno roboratus, timens ne forte Geysa cum exercitu Polonico super eum irrueret, paulisper retrocessit cum suis et in castro Musun munitissimo tuta statione resedit. Porro episcopi et alii viri religiosi instanter satagebant inter eos pacem componere. Maxime [70] autem Desiderius^{b, 496} episcopus delinitivis ammonitionibus et dulcibus allocu-

^a iusiurandi *var. Mss*] iusiurandum *Ms*

^b *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis* Desiderius

⁴⁹³ Hist. in.: Bearded, crowned figure (Henry IV) holding a crown in his hand, leads a person in red doublet (Solomon) followed by warriors flying an imperial eagle and a red flag with Lotharingian cross in front of a four-towered church.

⁴⁹⁴ The Latin of the MS—referring to an army “of Roman style/type”—is obscure.

⁴⁹⁵ The formulation is similar to what is used in Czech or Rus’ chronicles reflecting the ceremonial importance of the seat in Prague or Kiev, but the throne at Fehérvár in

97. THE COMING OF THE EMPEROR WITH HIS SON-IN-LAW SOLOMON

⁴⁹³When, however, King Solomon heard of the death of King Béla, he came to his father-in-law, the emperor of the Germans, and asked him to restore to him the kingdom of Hungary. The emperor gladly listened to his requests, and with the noble army of the Romans⁴⁹⁴ and an illustrious retinue of imperial glory he led Solomon back into Hungary. Meanwhile Géza, King Béla's son, being prudent and wary, betook himself with his two youthful brothers to Poland for he could not at that time stand up to the assault of Solomon and the Germans. Thus King Solomon together with the emperor entered without difficulty into Hungary, a country bereft of a king; and coming safely to the royal town of Fehérvár, he was there received by all the clergy and the people of whole Hungary with the greatest honors. The emperor then addressed the community of all the Hungarians on behalf of his son-in-law, King Solomon, and he confirmed with a sacred oath the establishment of peace between them. He made Solomon, gloriously crowned, with the consent and acclamation of all Hungary be seated upon his father's throne.⁴⁹⁵ Most generously rewarded by King Solomon from the rich treasure of Hungary, the emperor returned home. As soon as the emperor had departed, Géza returned to Hungary from the place to which he had prudently withdrawn. Being a new [ruler] and not yet established in his kingdom, King Solomon was afraid that Géza would perhaps attack him with a Polish army, and he therefore retired for a time with his forces and took up a safe station in the strongly fortified castle of Moson. Thereafter the bishops and other religious men strove most earnestly to bring about a peace between them. Especially Bishop Desiderius⁴⁹⁶ softened

Hungary—in contrast to the crown jewels—did not have such a constitutional significance as the royal coronation jewels. Solomon's enthronisation took place in September 1063, because the German emperor left the country before 27 September.

⁴⁹⁶ Desiderius, archbishop of Kalocsa (from before 1064 to 1090), mentioned also in ch. 130. The prelates of Kalocsa were often named simply bishops, especially by authors from the circle of the rival archbishopric of Esztergom.

tionibus suis mitigavit animum Geyse ducis, ut Salomoni quamvis iuniori regnum cum pace redderet et ipse ducatum, quem pater eius prius habuerat, pacifice teneret. Cuius salubribus persuasionibus Geysa deposito rancore paruit. In festo autem Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani martyrum rex Salomon et Geysa dux coram Hungaria in Geur pacem firmaverunt.⁴⁹⁷ Deinde festum Dominice Resurrectionis ambo simul cum plena curia Quinqueecclesiis celebraverunt. Ubi rex Salomon ipso die Pasce assistentibus regni proceribus per manus Geyse ducis honorabiliter est coronatus, et in regiam Beati Petri principis apostolorum basilicam ad audiendam missam gloriose deductus.⁴⁹⁸ Universa ergo congregatio Hungarorum videntes pacem regis et ducis et mutuam inter eos dilectionem, laudaverunt Deum, pacis amatorem *et facta est letitia magna in populo*.⁴⁹⁹

98. Nocte autem secuta pronosticum future discordie et turbationis provenit. Totam enim ecclesiam illam et omnia pallacia ceteraque edificia ei appendentia repentina flamma corripuit^a et universa vastante incendio corruerunt. Accepit autem omnes timor pre nimia concussione flammarum stridentium et terribili furore campanarum ex turribus ruentium, nec sciebat quisquam, quo se diverteret. Rex et dux vehementi stupore attoniti et suspitione mali doli perterriti quantotius in diversa se transtulerunt. Mane autem facto per fideles nuncios et in veritate rerum cognoverunt, quia nichil mali ex utraque parte perniciose fraude fuerat excogitatum, sed forte inopinatum evenerat incendium. Rex et dux cum bona pace iterum conveniunt.

99. Misit itaque rex Zolomerus Dalmacie, qui sororius Geyse erat, nuncios ad regem Salomonem et ducem Geysam, et roga-

^a corripuit] corripuit *Ms*

⁴⁹⁷ That is on 20 January 1064.

⁴⁹⁸ Medieval rulers often appeared at major holidays "under the crown." This kind of festive "coronation" was referred to, in contrast to the inauguration ceremony, as *coronamentum*, or *Festkrönung*, see: Carlrichard Brühl "Kronen- und Königsbrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 234 (1982), pp. 1–31. This is one of the few mentions of such a practice in Hungary. For a previous one

Duke Géza's spirit with his gentle admonitions and sweet pleadings that he should in peace restore the kingdom to Solomon, even though he was the younger, and should himself peacefully hold the duchy which his father had held before him. Géza listened to his words of wise persuasion and laid aside his ill feeling. On the feast day of SS. Fabian and Sebastian the martyrs, King Solomon and Duke Géza made peace at Győr, with each other before the Hungarian people.⁴⁹⁷ Then together with all the court they both celebrated the feast of the resurrection of our Lord at Pécs. Here on Easter Day, in the presence of the lords of the kingdom and with all due ceremony, King Solomon received his crown from the hands of Duke Géza and was escorted in majesty to hear mass in the royal church of the blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles.⁴⁹⁸ All the assembled Hungarians, seeing that there was peace and mutual love between the king and the duke, praised God, the lover of peace, and *there was exceeding great joy among the people*.⁴⁹⁹

98. But in the following night there came an omen of future discord and disturbance. For sudden flames seized that church and the palaces and all nearby buildings, and they collapsed in one devastating conflagration. Everyone was gripped with fear at the shock of the roaring flames and the terrible shattering of the bells as they fell from the towers; and none knew where to turn. The king and the duke were in an amazed stupor; terrified by the suspicion of foul play, each went his separate way. In the morning they were apprised through faithful messengers that in truth there had not been on either side any evil intention of treachery, but that the fire happened by chance. The king and the duke came together again in the goodness of peace.

99. King Zvonimir of Dalmatia, who was a brother-in-law of Géza, sent messengers to King Solomon and Duke Géza and asked them

of King Samuel Aba, where Bishop Gerhard allegedly refused to crown him, see the Lesser Legend of St. Gerhard, (SRH 2: p. 476; also in CEMT 7).

⁴⁹⁹ 1 Macc 4: 58.

vit eos, ut propria persona eorum contra adversarios suos, scilicet Carantanos ipsum adiuvarent, qui tunc marchiam Dalmacie occupavera<n>t.⁵⁰⁰ Rex igitur et dux collecto exercitu iverunt in Dalmatiam et ablatam sibi restituerunt integre. Regi ducique dona regalia ac pretiosa pallacia, aurum et argentum multum [71] donavit. In reversione autem eorum Atha^a palatinus rogavit regem et ducem, ut in constructione^b monasterii sui, quod in honore Sancti Iacobi edificaverat in Zelyz, interessent, quod et factum est.⁵⁰¹

100. QUOD REX SALOMON ET DAVID LIBEROS NON HABUERUNT

⁵⁰²Rex autem Salomon et David frater eius liberos numquam habuerunt et in ipsis semen regis Andree deficit.⁵⁰³ Quod ideo divinitus factum esse credimus, quia quando Andreas primo in Hungariam reversus est cum Levente fratre suo, propter hoc, quod ipse regnum posset optinere, permisit Vatam prophanum et alios pessimos Sanctum Gerardum et multos Christianos interficere. Dux autem Geysa genuit Colomanum et Almun ac filias.⁵⁰⁴

^a *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Atha*

^b *in constructione] recte in consecratione*

⁵⁰⁰ The Croatian king Zvonimir Dmitar (Demetrius) of the Trpimirović dynasty (reigned 1075–89), was acknowledged by Pope Gregory VII and received a crown from Rome in 1075/6. His wife was Helen, daughter of King Béla I. He fought against Domenico Contarini the doge of Venice in the 1060's, who took Zadar and the Dalmatian Coast in 1062 (J. H. Pryor and E. M. Jeffreys, *The Age of the Dromon. the Byzantine Navy ca 500–1204*, p. 99, Leiden: Brill, 2006). It is therefore possible that a text corruption replaced 'Contarini' by 'Carinthians.' Also: one of the famous generals of the time was Nikephoros Karantenos, his name may have slid in here, too. See: Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*, pp. 262–263 (Cambridge: CUP, 2006) (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks); Jakov Stipišić, "Croatia in diplomatic sources up to the end of the 11th century," in: Ivo Supićić, *Croatia and Europe. Volume 1, Croatia in the Early Middle Ages: a Cultural Survey*, pp. 316–317 (London: Philip Wilson ; Zagreb : AGM, 1999).

⁵⁰¹ The monastery was founded by *ispán* Otto (variant Atha) of the Győr kindred in 1061 and was consecrated in 1066; the interpolated foundation charter survived (DHA 1: pp. 169–73).

to give help to him against his enemies, namely the Carinthians, who at that time had seized the border regions of Dalmatia.⁵⁰⁰ The king and the duke therefore collected an army and marched into Dalmatia, and they restored to him in its entirety the territory taken from him. He gave the king and the duke royal gifts and precious robes, gold and much silver. On their return, Count Palatine Otto requested the king and the duke that they should be present at the consecration of his monastery which he had built at Zselicszentjakab in honor of St. James; and this was done.⁵⁰¹

100. KING SOLOMON AND DAVID HAD NO CHILDREN

⁵⁰²King Solomon and David, his brother, never had children, and the seed of King Andrew perished with them.⁵⁰³ We believe that this was by an act of God; for on his first return with his brother Levente to Hungary, Andrew, with the purpose of gaining the kingdom, permitted the ungodly Vata and other most evil men to kill the saintly Gerard and many Christians. Duke Géza begot Coloman and Álmos and also daughters.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² Inh. In.: A crowned figure (Solomon) with orb and long scepter, holding a starred shield, and a person in red doublet with "ducal" cap and sword (David).

⁵⁰³ Prince David was born c. after 1053, and died c. after 1091. The contrasting of sterility and abundance of offspring is tendentious. For childlessness as a consequence of the sinfulness of the would-be parents see Charles Edward Smith, *Papal Enforcement of Some Medieval Marriage Laws*, pp. 70, 123 (University, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1940; repr. Port Washington, N.Y., 1972). For a Biblical passage, see Lev 20: 20–21. The text does not mention Prisca (Hung. Piroška), daughter of King Ladislav I., though in ch. 156 the chronicler writes about her.

⁵⁰⁴ On Coloman and Álmos, see below, ch. 140, pp. 262–3. As to the daughters, Vajay (*Turul* 79, 2006, pp. 32–9) suggested that the wife of *ispán* Lampert was not—as usually assumed—the sister of King Ladislav, but one of Géza's daughters; another daughter of his may have been the mother of Ivan, who rebelled against Stephen II, and a third whose son may have been *ispán* Bors, allegedly also "elected king." See ch. 159, pp. 294–5, below.

101.⁵⁰⁵ Viguit autem tranquilla pax inter regem et ducem circiter annos tredecim. Interim autem Bohemi superbia inflati irruerunt versus urbem Trenchen et magnam predam hominum et ceterorum animalium rapientes abduxerunt.⁵⁰⁶ Rex autem et dux pro magna iniuria hoc reputantes cum suis exercitibus Bohemiam invaserunt. Et Bohemis ad conflictum venire non audentibus Hungari fere totam Bohemiam igne ac gladio vastaverunt. Ibi Bator Opus Martini filius⁵⁰⁷ quendam Bohemum, instar gygantee magnitudinis corpus habentem, in certamine singulari viriliter prostravit, propter quod memoriale factum semper postmodum apud regem et omnes optimates Hungarie gloriosus emicuit. Rex itaque et dux iniuriam suorum super Bohemos graviter vindicantes cum maxima preda captivorum Bohemorum in Hungariam gaudentes sunt reversi.

102. DEVASTANT CUNI HUNGARIAM

⁵⁰⁸[72] Post hec autem pagani Cuni a superiori parte porte Meses⁵⁰⁹ ruptis indaginibus irruerunt in Hungariam, totamque provinciam Nyr usque civitatem Byhor crudeliter depredantes, infinitam multitudinem virorum ac mulierum ceterorumque animalium secum trahentes, per amnem Lapus et fluenta Zomus inopinabiliter transeuntes remeabant.⁵¹⁰ Rex igitur Salomon et dux Geysa cum

⁵⁰⁵ The following ten chapters, including the siege of Belgrade, seem to be based on some chivalresque tradition around the hero Opos and then of the deeds of St. Ladislav as well as the story of the intrigues of ispán Vid; more on this, see chs. 101–10, pp. 192–208. The chronicler's style here displays characteristics of chansons de gestes.

⁵⁰⁶ Dated 1067.

⁵⁰⁷ An epic hero of the Chronicle, cf. also ch. 118. The Hungarian word 'bátor' means "brave," it is of Turkic origin ('hero').

⁵⁰⁸ Hist. in.: (In the foreground) helmeted warrior (Ladislav) grabbing an Oriental dressed person, behind whom a girl with diadem and the gesture of despair (?) is standing, all in front of a white and a bay horse. In the background left, warriors, among them a crowned figure (Solomon) with a shield—decorated with a golden Lotharingian cross standing on a green mound—and a person with "ducal" cap (Géza), flying a red flag with Lotharingian cross ascending above the initial are

101.⁵⁰⁵ Tranquil peace flourished between the king and the duke for about thirteen years. Meanwhile, the Czechs, puffed up with pride, broke into the country at the city of Trenčín, and carried off with them great booty, both of men and various animals.⁵⁰⁶ Holding this to be a most insulting act of injury, the king and the duke invaded Bohemia with their armies, and as the Czechs did not dare to join battle with them, they laid waste with fire and sword almost the whole of Bohemia. Bátor Opos, the son of Martin,⁵⁰⁷ bravely overcame in single combat a Czech of gigantic stature, for which memorable deed he was ever after held in high honor by the king and all the magnates of Hungary. Thus the king and the duke, wreaking heavy vengeance upon the Czechs for the wrong they had done to them, returned rejoicing with a rich booty of captive Czechs to Hungary.

102. THE CUMANS LAY WASTE HUNGARY

⁵⁰⁸After this, the pagan Cumans broke into Hungary having destroyed the borderlands, above the Gate of Mezeşul⁵⁰⁹ and cruelly devastated the whole province of Nyírség as far as the castle of Biharja; taking with them a countless multitude of men and women and various animals, they crossed the river Lápos and the streams of the Szamos without meeting resistance, and so set out on their return.⁵¹⁰ King Solomon, therefore, and Duke Géza with his brother Ladislas collected an army, and with the greatest speed be-

aiming at enemies with bow and arrow. In the background right, behind mountains, Oriental dressed group (Cumans) is heading out of the picture.

⁵⁰⁹ A fortified gate on the main road between Hungary and Transylvania, built on the remains of a Roman camp. Duke Álmos founded here a monastery dedicated to St. Margaret before 1106.

⁵¹⁰ In 1068 and the following years the invaders were probably not Cumans (Kipchak-Cumans) who at that time lived still far east from Hungary, but some other nomadic people, perhaps the Oğuz. Anon. (chs. 8–10, pp. 21–9 and *passim*, see Index s.v.) also referred to some nomadic people (who allegedly joined the Magyars in the ninth century) anachronistically as Cumans.

fratre suo Ladizlao collecto exercitu festinantissime acceleraverunt, per portam Meses transeuntes, priusquam Cuni montes transcenderent, in urbem Dobuka pene per totam septimanam ibi adventum paganorum expectarunt. Quidam autem de speculatoribus, nomine Fanciska, qui erat de Novo Castro,⁵¹¹ certificavit regem et duces in quinta feria, quod exercitus Cunorum appropinquaret. Rex autem et duces cum exercitu equitaverunt illuc usque properantes et in nocte illa descenderunt prope Cunos. Surgentes autem summo diluculo sexta feria omnes eucharistie communionem se ipsos muniverunt et ordinatis agminibus suis ad conflagrandum contra paganos perrexerunt. Quod cum vidisset princeps militie paganorum, nomine Osul, qui fuit serviens Gyule ducis Cunorum, sicut erat plurimum inflatus superbia ac nimium de se presumens, inquit suis: Vadant iuvenes super inhermes Hungaros et cum eis ludi simile bellum committant. Nullos enim credebat esse, qui cum eis congredi auderent. Procedentes autem pagani contra Hungaros viderunt terribilia eorum agmina et perprope renuntiaverunt Osul principi suo. Qui coadunato conducto exercitu Cunorum festinanter collegit se in supercilium montis altissimi, putans hoc sibi fieri pro maximo tutamento. Est enim ascensus gravissimus montis illius, qui ab incolis vocatur Kyrieleys.^{a, 512} Congregatus est autem universus exercitus Hungarorum ad radicem montis eiusdem. Milites enim regis Salomonis omnes pariter gestabant vexilla sua facta de syndone. Pagani autem in cacumine montis iam collocati fuerant, ex quibus fortiores et audaciores sagittarii descenderunt in medium devexi montis, ut Hungaros ab ascensu montis procul arcerent. Ceperunt itaque tempestuosis ymbribus densissimarum sagittarum in turmas legionum regis et ducis desevire. Quidam autem incliti milites Hungarorum irruerunt super illos sagittarios, et quamplures ex eis in latere eiusdem montis occiderunt, et valde pauci equos suos arcubus suis verberando ur-

^a *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis Kyrieleys*

⁵¹¹ It could be Abaújvár (as in ch. 82, pp. 154–5, above), or Gherla (Szamosújvár). The Hungarian “Újvár” means ‘Newcastle’.

fore the Cumans could cross the mountains they hastened through the Gate of Mezeşul to the city of Dăbâca, where for almost a week they awaited the arrival of the pagans. On a Thursday one of their scouts, named Fanciska, who was from Újvár,⁵¹¹ informed the king and the dukes that the army of the Cumans was approaching. The king and the dukes rode forth in haste with their army, and the same night they dismounted in the vicinity of the Cumans. On the Friday they arose at the first daybreak and fortified themselves by partaking together of the Eucharist; then in battle array ready to fight they marched forth against the pagans. When the leader of the fighting men of the pagans named Osul, a retainer of Gyula, head of the Cumans saw this, *puffed up with pride* and overweening in his self-conceit, he said to his men: "Let the young men go forth against the harmless Hungarians and play with them a game of war." For he thought that there was no one who would dare to stand up against them. But when the pagans advanced against the Hungarians and saw their ranks in terrible array, they reported this in haste to their leader Osul. Regrouping the army of the Cumans, he quickly withdrew to the brow of a high mountain, thinking that there he would be in greatest safety. For the ascent of the mountain, which the inhabitants call Chiraleş,⁵¹² is very steep. The whole army of the Hungarians was assembled at the foot of the mountain. And all the warriors of King Solomon carried the very same banners banners made of fine linen. The pagans had now taken up their position on the summit of the mountain, but the more brave and bold of the archers came half-way down the slope in order that they might prevent the Hungarians from climbing the mountain. They began to rain down thick showers and a storm of arrows upon the cohorts of the king and the duke. But some of the most renowned warriors among the Hungarians rushed upon the archers, and killed many of them on the side of that mountain;

⁵¹² Naming a hill thus, from the liturgical "Kyrie eleison" is not unique. Thomas of Split (*History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, Latin text by Olga Perić, ed. and trans., Damir Karbić, p. 101, Budapest-New York, CEU Press, 2006 = CEMT 4) called thus the mountain Marjan near Split.

gentes, vix ad socios suos ascendere potuerunt. Rex autem Salomon acerrime animositatis audacia fremebundus per gravissimum ascensum cum agmine suo quasi reptando ad paganos ascendit, qui super eum densissimos sagittarum ymbres effundebant. Dux autem Geysa, sicut erat semper providus, per leviolem ascensum ascendens sagittis irruit super Cunos. Cuius frater Ladizlaus quatuor ex fortissimis paganorum primo impetu interfecit, et a quinto eorum sagitta graviter est vulneratus eodem mox ibidem interfecto. Postmodum divina miseratione a vulnere illo cito est sanatus. Pagani ergo atrocissima mortis illatione ab Hungaris coartati miserabiliter fugiebant. Quos Hungari celerius persequentes acutissimos gladios suos et sitibundos in sanguinibus Cunorum inebriaverunt.⁵¹³ Capita quippe Cumanorum noviter rasa, tamquam cucurbitas ad maturitatem nondum bene perductas,⁵¹⁴ gladiatorum ictibus disciderunt.

103. Vidit denique beatissimus Ladizlaus dux unum paganorum, qui super dorsum equi sui ducebat unam puellam Hungaram speciosam.⁵¹⁵ Sanctus ergo dux Ladizlaus putans illam esse filiam episcopi Waradiensis,⁵¹⁶ et quamvis esset graviter vulneratus, tamen illum celerrime persecutus est super equum illum, quem Zug nominabat. Cum autem attingeret, ut eum lancearet, minime poterat, quia nec eius celerius currebat, nec equus il[74]lius aliquantulum remanebat, sed quasi brachium hominis erat inter lanceam et dorsum Cuni. Clamavit itaque sanctus dux Ladizlaus ad puellam et dixit: Soror speciosa, accipe Cunum in cingulo et iacta te in terram! Quod et fecit. Cumque Beatus Ladizlaus dux procul illum lanceasset, in terra iacentem voluit eum interficere. Quem puella

⁵¹³ Cf. Is 34:5.

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Deut 32: 42. Anon. (ch. 8, p. 25) used a similar expression for the heads of his "Cumans," but the source probably was our chronicle quoting more thoroughly the Bible.

⁵¹⁵ This episode belongs to the most commonly depicted scenes of the St. Ladislav-cycle in medieval Hungarian churches, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai, pp. 173–94 (Cambridge: CUP, 2000) with extensive literature.

very few of them, lashing their horses with their bows, were barely able to make their way up to their comrades. King Solomon was possessed with an audacity of fury, and by an ascent so steep that he had almost to crawl he climbed up with his men towards the pagans, who poured down upon him a heavy rain of arrows. Duke Géza, who was ever prudent, climbed by an easier slope and attacked the Cumans with arrows. His brother Ladislás at the first charge killed four of the bravest of the pagans and was gravely wounded with an arrow by the fifth, but him also he soon killed. By divine mercy he was quickly healed of his wound. The pagans fled miserably under the terrible blows of death dealt them by the Hungarians. The Hungarians followed in swift pursuit and made their sharp swords drunk by ⁵¹³ the blood of the Cumans. With the strokes of their swords they severed the freshly shaven heads of the Cumans like unripe gourds.⁵¹⁴

103. Then the most blessed Duke Ladislás saw one of the pagans who was carrying off on his horse a beautiful Hungarian girl.⁵¹⁵ The saintly Duke Ladislás thought that it was the daughter of the Bishop of Oradea,⁵¹⁶ and although he was seriously wounded, he swiftly pursued him on his horse, which he called by the name of Szög. When he caught up with him and wished to spear him, he could not do so, for neither could his own horse go any faster nor did the other's horse yield any ground, but there remained the distance of a man's arm between his spear and the Cuman's back. So the saintly Duke Ladislás shouted to the girl and said: "Fair sister, take hold of the Cuman by his belt and throw yourself to the ground." Which she did; and the saintly Duke Ladislás was about to spear him as he lay upon the ground, for he wished to kill him. But the girl strongly pleaded with him not to kill him, but to let him go. Whence it is to be seen that there is no faith in women;

⁵¹⁶ Clerical celibacy—as part of the so-called Gregorian reforms—was not enforced in the kingdom of Hungary until the early twelfth century, cf. Synod of Esztergom (1105–1116) canon 11; DRMH 1: p. 60.

valde rogavit, ne eum interficeret, sed ut dimitteret. Unde in hoc notatur, quod fides in mulieribus non sit, quia forte amore stupri illum liberare voluit. Sanctus autem dux diu cum eo luctando et absciso nervo illum interfecit. Sed illa filia episcopi non fuit. Rex igitur et gloriosi duces fere omnibus paganis interfectis et omnibus Christianis a captivitate liberatis, una cum felici embola totius Hungarie cum triumpho victoriae gaudentes redierunt.⁵¹⁷ *Facta est igitur letitia magna in tota Hungaria, et in ymnis et confessionibus benedicebant Deum, qui dedit eis victoriam.*⁵¹⁸

104. DE ADVENTU BISSENIORUM IN HUNGARIAM

⁵¹⁹Factum est autem tertio anno post adventum Cunorum, Bisseni per Albam Bulgari<c>am⁵²⁰ venientes transnataverunt flumen Zava in campum Buzias,⁵²¹ et non modicam gentem captivorum et predarum diripientes, in suam terram abduxerunt. Rex autem et dux imposuerunt crimen traditionis Albe Bulgarice, eo quod pace defraudata voluntarie permisisset latrunculos Bessorum depredari Hungariam. Collectis itaque exercitibus convenerunt in Zalanke-men, ubi consilio deliberantes decreverunt Albam tradi<tri>cem obsideri oportere et expugnari. Inde castra moventes descendunt circa flu[75]men Zava in directo Nandorfeirwar.⁵²² *Exiit autem edictum a rege et duce, ut universus*⁵²³ exercitus Hungarorum,

⁵¹⁷ The chronicler used here the Greek word *embola* for ‘army,’ company,’ which goes back to Roman Law (Justinian, Cod. Lib. 1.2), but in this sense appeared only in twelfth-century legal commentaries. Actually it occurs also in a rhymed clause in Anon. ch. 55 (p. 118); the direction of possible borrowing, if any, can here again not be decided.

⁵¹⁸ 1 Macc 4: 58; 2 Macc 10: 38.

⁵¹⁹ Hist. in.: (top) warriors behold a town in flames (Belgrade) and a girl with diadem carrying a torch; below: a figure seated at a table with mostly golden objects (money), attended by a crowned king (Solomon) and two persons with “ducal”-cap in long mantles (Ladislav with halo and Géza with rays around his head).

⁵²⁰ Belgrade was under Byzantine control after 1018. As a result of this siege in 1071, it was in Hungarian hands till 1165. Byzantine sources do not mention the siege, but rather the taking of Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica), which the Hungarian

for it was probably because of strong carnal love that she wished him to go free. But after having fought for a long time with him and having cut his nerve, the saintly duke killed him. But the girl was not the bishop's daughter. Having killed almost all the pagans and having liberated all the Christians, the king and the dukes returned rejoicing in their triumph with the victorious Hungarian army.⁵¹⁷ There was *great happiness* in all Hungary, and with *hymns and prayers they blessed God who had given them victory*.⁵¹⁸

104. ARRIVAL OF THE PECHENEGS IN HUNGARY

⁵¹⁹It happened in the third year after the coming of the Cumans that the Pechenegs advanced through Belgrade⁵²⁰ and swam across the Sava i river nto the fields of Buziás⁵²¹ and carried off no small number of captives and other booty into their own country. The king and the duke charged [those of] Belgrade with treachery because they had violated the peace by having freely permitted the robber bands of the Pechenegs to plunder Hungary. They therefore collected their armies, and having met in council at Slankamen they determined that the treacherous Belgrade must be besieged and occupied. Moving camp, they came down along the Sava in the direction of Belgrade.⁵²² There *went out a decree*⁵²³ from the king and the duke that the *whole* Hungarian army should cross the Sava into Bulgaria the sooner the better. But from their boats the Greeks and the Bulgarians blew

sources do not record; see also Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, pp. 188–191. (Cambridge: CUP, 2000).

⁵²¹ There were several villages in the vicinity of Zemun with this name, cf. also below, ch. 109, pp. 206–7; a certain Buziás was a possession of Vid.

⁵²² The form Nándorfehérvár is the first written mention of the Hungarian variant of the place name. “Nándor” meant Bulgarian, “fehérvár” (as elsewhere) refers to a white (stone) castle. This reflects the fact that Belgrade had been the border castle between Hungary and Bulgaria.

⁵²³ Cf. Lk 2: 1

quantocius transiret fluvium Zavam in Bulgariam. Greci autem et Bulgari navigantes in celonibus suis per ingenia sufflabant ignes sulphureos in naves Hungarorum et eas in ipsis aquis incendebant. Victi sunt autem ignivomi Greci ab Ungaris pre multitudine navium, quibus flumen operuerant.⁵²⁴ Fugientibus autem Grecis ac Bulgaris transierunt Hungari et terminos Bulgarorum occupaverunt.

105. Rex autem et dux secunda feria transierunt Zavam et mane facto ordinaverunt acies suas et plenis manip<u>lis^a suis universaliter per turmas suas insertis umbonibus obsederunt civitatem. Greci igitur et Bulgari timentes ex obsidione periculum sibi imminere, rogaverunt Bissenos per clam destinatos nuncios, ut sine pavore venirent in adiutorium ipsorum, eo quod nec rex, nec dux civitatem eorum obsedisset, sed tantum comes Vid⁵²⁵ cum Bachiensibus militibus eos invasisset. Bessi ergo fraudulentibus verbis eorum seducti festinanter venerunt in adiutorium ipsorum et cupiditate prede allecti, quam de comite Vyd devicto sperabant se habere, precipites irruerunt super agmina Supruniensium, quorum rector erat comes Ian nomine.⁵²⁶ Hic autem insultus Bessorum viriliter et fortiter cum Supruniensibus superavit plurimis eorum ibidem *in ore gladii* prostratis, residuis autem eorum in captivitate subactis. Princeps Bissenorum, nomine Kazar cum paucissimis fugiendo manus Hungarorum vix evasit. Rex igitur et dux eidem militi Ian munera regalia condignasque grates liberalitate contulerunt, eo quod ipse multa milia Bissenorum tamquam lapis limpidissimus vasa fictilia contrivisset, priusquam rex et dux cum exercitu suo de gentaculis capita levassent. Regi autem et ducibus Geysa

^a mani<pu>lis] manipolis *Ms*

⁵²⁴ Greek fire, mostly used in naval warfare by the Byzantines, must have been well known to the Hungarians from their conflicts with the Eastern Empire along the Danube and Drava rivers.

⁵²⁵ In Ch. 45, above Vid was identified as a member of the Gutkeled kindred, he was the *ispán* of County Bács. He also appears as an important person in the foundation deed of Tihany, 1055 (DHA 1: p. 152). The form 'Vid' is the Hungarian equivalent of Vitus.

sulphurous fires by means of machines against the Hungarian ships, so that they burned even in the very water. However, the fire spitting Greeks were vanquished by the Hungarians, who had launched upon the river a great fleet.⁵²⁴ The Greeks and the Bulgarians took to flight, and the Hungarians crossed over and occupied the Bulgarian borders.

105. On a Monday the king and the duke crossed the Sava; early in the morning they marshaled their forces, and by having all their troops join their shields, completely invested the city. Fearing that the siege placed them in peril, the Greeks and the Bulgarians secretly sent messengers to the Pechenegs and asked them to come without fear to their help; for neither the king nor the duke was besieging their city, but only the *ispán* Vid,⁵²⁵ who had attacked them with warriors from Bács. Misled by these deceitful words, the Pechenegs hastened to their help, and in their greed for the booty which they hoped to gain from the defeat of *ispán* Vid they threw themselves upon the ranks of the men from Sopron, whose commander was the *ispán* called Ian.⁵²⁶ He with those from Sopron gallantly and courageously withstood the assault of the Pechenegs, many of whom fell there *beneath the edge of the sword*, while the rest were taken captive. The leader of the Pechenegs, whose name was Kazar, barely escaped by flight with very few others from the hands of the Hungarians. The king and the duke generously bestowed royal gifts and worthy rewards upon the warrior Ian, who had brought destruction to many thousands of the Pechenegs as a finely polished flint shatters vessels of clay, even before the king and the duke with their army had arisen from their early meal. On the Wednesday the king and the dukes Géza and Ladislas took their seats on a rock near that city, and at dawn the Hungarians began to display before them the captured Pechenegs and the

⁵²⁶ These references to *comites* leading their troops are important proofs of the military duties of the *ispáns*. In 1432/3, King-Emperor Sigismund explicitly referred to this episode in the chronicle for the justification of his military reform; see Propositions 1432/3, DRMH: 2, p. 142.

et Ladizlao super rupem, que eidem civitati proxima est, residentibus ceperunt Hungari presentare captos Bissenos et capita interfectorum et equos et superlectilia, que in quarta feria a mane usque ad inclinationem meridiei plene perficere non potuerunt.⁵²⁷ Hoc autem ideo factum est, ut Greci et Bulga[76]ri, qui obsidebantur, videntes Bissenos, in quibus sperabant tam crudeliter ab Hungaris obtruncatos, timerent et semetipsos cum civitate regi et ducibus contraderent.

106. Porro rex et duces ad expugnandam civitatem conven<ien>tiora loca prospicientes preceperunt carpentariis, ut ibi turres ligneas octo, altitudinem murorum duplo superantes fabricarent, unde milites in medium civitatis lapides et sagittas super homines iacularent. Inter turres vero totidem tormenta ad destruendum muros erexerunt, longos etiam pluteos ad defendendos introitus turrium ceteraque instrumenta bellica composuerunt.⁵²⁸ In quibusdam itaque locis destruxerunt muros eius usque ad fundamentum, sed civitatem capere non poterant, quia eam intrinsecus fortissimi bellatores defendebant. Obsederunt itaque civitatem duobus mensibus, infra quos sepius <con>gressi^a sunt cum Saracenis⁵²⁹ de civitate egredientibus et ex eis alios occiderunt, alios autem fugaverunt.

107. Post hec tres Sarraceni fortissimi et audacissimi de urbe prosiliunt, iaculis, lanceis et sagittis duram plagam Hungaris propinantes. Salomon autem balistarius regis unum illorum ictu baliste fulminavit, cuius cadaver Hungari nitebantur rapere, socii vero eius

^a <con>gressi] egressi *Ms*

⁵²⁷ On the victory parade in Byzantium, see Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*, pp. 131-188 (Cambridge: CUP, 1986); Jonathan Shepard, "Adventus, Arrivistes and Rites of Rulership in Byzantium and France in the Tenth and Eleventh Century," in: *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, Stavroula Constantinou, Maria Parani, eds., pp. 337-364 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

heads of the slain and the horses and the equipment, and still they had not finished when the sun began to decline.⁵²⁷ They did this in order that the besieged Greeks and Bulgarians should see how the Pechenegs in whom they had placed their hopes had been cruelly slaughtered by the Hungarians, and should be afraid and surrender themselves and their city to the king and the dukes.

106. Then the king and the dukes, seeking for more advantageous positions to storm the town, instructed their carpenters that they should construct there eight wooden towers twice the height of the walls, from which the warriors could strike with stones and arrows at the men in the center of the city. Between the towers they erected the same number of catapults, for breaking walls and they also set up long movable screens to defend the entrances to the towers and other engines of war.⁵²⁸ In some places they destroyed the walls down to the foundations, but they could not take the city because it was defended from within by very brave warriors. They besieged the city for two months, in which time they clashed often with the Saracens⁵²⁹ who made sallies from the city, killing some and putting others to flight.

107. Thereafter three very brave and daring Saracens made a sortie from the city and with spears, lances and arrows caused sore trouble to the Hungarians; but Solomon, one of the king's ballista-handlers, struck down one of them with a shot of his engine. The Hungarians strove to carry off his body, but his comrades fought fiercely to defend it.⁵³⁰ As they watched their struggle, the king and the duke said to the warriors standing by: "Were it

⁵²⁸ This detailed description of the siege, without a parallel in the entire chronicle, suggests a report of combatants as its source.

⁵²⁹ The word "Saracens" is seen by some as a reference to Muslim warriors in the Hungarian army, others suggest that it came into the text from Crusade literature or some unknown literary model; on these, see Lynne Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature: Imagination and Cultural Interaction in the French Middle Age*, pp. 8–9 (Medieval History and Culture, 3) (New York — London: Routledge, 2001).

<cum>^a predictis acriter dimicantes defenderunt.⁵³⁰ Rex autem et dux videntes eorum conflictum circumstantibus aiunt militibus: <Utinam>^b sanguis et cor Machabeorum efferbesceret in milibus, qui defensarent Hungaros ab hiis Sarracenis pr<o> munitione arcis audacter pugnantibus, ut Hungari cadaver Sarraceni raperent! Hoc audito Obus, Georgius et Bors milites bellicosi concitato impetu in modum fulguris irruerunt super illos. Quos quidem Obus nimium audacter persequens, usque ad urbis portas fugavit. Pugnatore iactabant lapides et sagittas de pugnaculis civitatis, Obus tamen sine lesione rediit. Interea autem Georgius et Bors exortati sunt Hungaros, qui corpus Sarraceni rapuerunt et in turpitudinem proiecerunt.

108. In tertio vero mense obsidionis quedam puella Hungarica olim illuc per captivitatem abducta in quarta [77] feria civitatem succendit. Flabat autem subsolanus vehementissime, cunctaque edificia occupaverunt incendia. Exercitus itaque Hungarorum irruit in civitatem ea parte, qua muri eius per tormenta iam corruerant et Grecos, Sarracenos atque Bulgaros crudeliter trucidarunt. Qui autem residui fuerant, cum Nicota duce eorum fugierunt in arcem. Hungari ergo capta civitate sequenti die, postquam ignis resederat, videntes scrobes Grecorum deiscentes tulerunt exinde aurum multum et argentum, lapides pretiosos gemmasque prelucidas et thesaurum fere inestimabilem. In cuius partitione orta est discordia inter regem et ducem. Nullusque fuit ex Hungaris, qui ibi locupletatus non fuisset.

109. Porro in arce inclusi rogaverunt regem et duces, ut eis vitam et libertatem donarent, arcem et universa sibi vendicarent. Manibus itaque regis et ducum in fidei pignus extensis, quod eos amplius non lederent, omnes, qui in arce erant, descenderunt. At dux Nyco-

^a <cum>] de *Ms*

^b <Utinam> *var. Mss*] tunc *Ms*

⁵³⁰ Literary motifs borrowed from the Latin Iliad, such as the fight for the corps of Patroklos.

that the blood and heart of the Macchabaeans fired these warriors defending the Hungarians against the Saracens boldly fighting in defense of their citadel, the Hungarians might/would seize the Saracen's corpse." Hearing these words, the valiant warriors Opos, George and Bors rushed forth and leapt upon the Saracens like a thunderbolt. Most valiantly Opos pursued them to the very gates of the city. The defenders hurled stones and arrows from the city battlements, but Opos returned unhurt. Meanwhile George and Bors urged on the Hungarians, who bore off the body of the Saracen and disgraced it.

108. In the third month of the siege, on a Wednesday, a Hungarian girl who had long before been brought there into captivity set fire to the city. A wind blew most fiercely from the east, and the flames took hold of all the buildings. Where the walls had been shattered by their engines, the host of the Hungarians broke into the city and cruelly slaughtered the Greeks, Saracens, and Bulgarians. The survivors fled into the citadel with their leader Niketas. On the following day, when the fire had died down, the Hungarians took the city and; seeing the cellars of the Greeks gaping open, carried away from them much gold and silver, precious stones and shining gems, and treasure of almost inestimable value. It was in the sharing of these spoils that a quarrel arose between the king and the duke. There was none among the Hungarians who was not made rich.

109. Those shut up in the citadel asked the king and the duke to grant them life and liberty, but retain the citadel and all it contained. After the king and the duke had given their hands in sign of good faith that they would do them no further harm, all those who were within came down from the citadel. But the Duke Niketas, bearing a silver icon of the most Holy Mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and accompanied by a great multitude of people, gave himself up into the power of Duke Géza. For he knew that Duke Géza was devoted to God and that in him the bowels of compassion were moved towards those in captivity or af-

ta portans argenteam yconam sanctissime genitricis Dei semper Virginis Marie cum magna multitudine populi veniens in potestatem ducis Geyse se contulit. Sciebat enim Geysam ducem devotum Deo et captivos seu afflictos misericordie visceribus refoventem. Ad manus autem regis Salomonis pauci venerunt, quia noverant ipsum esse austum et pessimis consiliis Vyd comitis in omnibus asculantem. Qui Vyd Deo et hominibus detestabilis erat. Cumque vidisset rex plures ad ducem ex illis confugisse, paucos autem ad se, plurimum indignatus est. Cum autem reversi essent cum thesauro inestimabili, venerunt in villam Buzias,⁵³¹ in predium Vyd volebatque dividere thesaurum et captivos, et illos etiam, qui ad fidem illorum de castro venerant. Dux autem regi in hoc contradicens dividere non potuerunt. Hec ergo *causa fuit* malorum et *seminarium*⁵³² discordie inter eos. Sed cum thesaurum dividerent, rex cum consilio Vyd et Frank episcopi et Radoan filii Bugar et Ilia, generis Vyd⁵³³ in quatuor partes divisit, et quartam partem duci, de tribus partibus unam haberet^a <cum>^b omnibus militibus, secundam autem Vid, tertiam autem Ilia.⁵³⁴ Unde dux [78] valde molestatus est.

110. DISCORDIA REGIS ET DUCUM

⁵³⁵Interea imperator Grecorum audita liberalitate ducis Geyse misit ad eum nuncios ad firmandam pacem et amicitiam.⁵³⁶ Dux au-

^a haberet] haberet ut *Ms*

^b <cum>] ut *Ms*

⁵³¹ Cf. ch. 104, pp. 198–9, above.

⁵³² Gen 37: 5.

⁵³³ The counts and bishops all are recorded in contemporary charters. Radvány (Rodowan) of the Radvány kindred was count palatine in 1067, and counted as founder of the kindred (DHA 1: 185). For Vid, see *ibid.* p. 152, for Ilia, *ibid.* Frank (see *ibid.* p. 219) was perhaps bishop of Transylvania.

⁵³⁴ The Latin text is confused—first the division is made impossible, then made “unjustly”—so editors and translators offer different solutions about the details of the division. It is not unlikely that two versions of these events got copied into the text; hence the contradiction between the last few sentences.

fliction. But there came only few to give themselves into the hands of King Solomon, for they knew that he was a tough man and that in all things he listened to the vile counsels of *ispán* Vid, who was detestable in the eyes both of God and men. When the king saw that many sought refuge with the duke, but few with him, he resented that very much. Returning with their invaluable treasure, they came to Vid's estate in the village of Buziás,⁵³¹ and [the king] wished to divide the treasure and the captives and even those who had come down from the citadel, trusting in their good faith. But since the duke disagreed with the king about this, they could not make the division. This was the *cause* of evils and the *seed of strife*⁵³² between them. But when they divided the treasure, the king, on the counsel of Vid and Bishop Frank and Radvány, the son of Bogát, and Ilia, a kinsman of Vid;⁵³³ divided the treasure into four parts and gave one quarter to the duke who was to have received a third, and of the three remaining parts he gave one to be shared among all the soldiers, the second to Vid, and the third to Ilia.⁵³⁴ At this the duke was greatly annoyed.

110. THE STRIFE BETWEEN THE KING AND THE DUKES

⁵³⁵Being informed of the generosity of Duke Géza, the emperor of the Greeks sent messengers to him to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship.⁵³⁶ The duke returned to him all the captives

⁵³⁵ Hist. in.: (left front) a seated king with scepter (Solomon) and a standing figure in red with sword (*ispán* Vid) both with gestures of speech inside a building; (right rear) three persons, one older kneeling, one handing over a letter to a long-mantled figure in "ducal" cap (Géza).

⁵³⁶ Romanos IV. Diogenes (reigned 1068–71) or his successor Michael Dukas VII (reigned 1071–78). Géza I appears on the Greek part of the Holy Crown—that he most likely received at that time from Constantinople—with Greek inscription styled as king (though wearing a ducal hat) reflecting the close diplomatic relations and his marriage c. 1074/75 to Synadene, a Greek lady, daughter of Theodulos Synadenos and sister of the future emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates.

tem remisit ei omnes captivos et omnes, qui ab arce descenderant. Ad regem autem Salomonem rex^a nequaquam misit Grecorum. Unde rex Salomon super Geysam ducem *magis invidie facibus*^b ac *magis*⁵³⁷ exarsit. Comes etiam Vyd pervicaciter instigabat regem, ut ducem Geysam expelleret, et ducatum eius sibi de levi posset vendicare. Et hoc facile fieri dicebat eo, quod rex multo plures milites quam dux haberet. Nec hoc differendum, sed magis accelerandum esse suggerebat. Seducebatque regem hoc proverbio, quod sicut duo gladii acuti in eadem vagina contineri non possent, sic nec vos in eodem regno conregnare potestis. Rex ergo venenosis verbis comitis Vyd trage factus^c,⁵³⁸ odium et rancorem concepit. Exinde itaque querebat oportunitatem aut capiendi ducem Geysam per insidias, aut bellandi. Dissimulabat tamen rex et simulata amicitia dimisit ducem abire in ducatum.

111. DE CONCORDIA EORUMDEM

⁵³⁹Post itaque misit rex ad utrumque ducem, ut ambo simul ad regem venirent et cum exercitu super [79] Nys castrum Grecorum⁵⁴⁰ proficiscerentur. Rex enim dolose intendebat eos perdere, ut si ambos improvisos capere posset, de cetero securus fuisset. Duces autem insidias regis percipientes sibi caute consuluerunt. Ladizlaus cum medietate exercitus in partibus Nyr remansit, Geysa vero cum rege profectus est, nec ausi sunt quicquam^d molestie ei inferre, quia Ladizlaum <cum>^e manu valida fratris ultorem fore non dubitabant.

^a rex] *recte* imperator

^b facibus] *faucibus Ms*

^c trage factus] *forse recte* strage factus

^d quicquam] *recte* quidquam

^e <cum>*var. Mss*] in *Ms*

⁵³⁷ Cf. Gregory the Great, Dial. 2, 8 that became a commonplace.

⁵³⁸ In the phrase *rex...tragefactus* is a very rarely used expression. It has been suggested that it comes from the German "Drache" and Latin "factus," as in ch. 165 where the Germans are depicted as dragons (*dracones*). Or simply constructed from *strage factus*, 'defeated.'

and all those who had come down from the citadel. But to King Solomon the king of the Greeks sent no messengers. Wherefore King Solomon *was more and more consumed with fires of envy*⁵³⁷ towards Duke Géza. *Ispán* Vid also urged the king repeatedly that he should banish Duke Géza and then take the vacant duchy from him. And he said that this could easily be done, for the king had many more warriors than the duke; and he insisted that this should not be put off, but rather should be done speedily. He incited the king with this proverb that just as two sharp swords cannot be kept in the same scabbard, so you two cannot reign together in the same kingdom. *Ispán* Vid's poisonous words filled the king with hate and rancor.⁵³⁸ Thenceforward he sought an opportunity of taking Duke Géza by treachery or of making war upon him. However, the king practiced dissimulation, and in pretended friendship he sent the duke away to his duchy.

111. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THEM

⁵³⁹After this, the king sent word to both dukes that they should come together to the king and set out with an army against the Greek fort of Niš.⁵⁴⁰ For the king deceitfully intended to destroy them; and if he could capture them both unawares, he would then be safe. But the dukes perceived the king's guile and took careful counsel together. Ladislav remained with half the army in the province of Nyírség, while Géza set forth with the king; they did not dare to do him any harm, knowing well that Ladislav would avenge his brother with a strong hand.

⁵³⁹ Hist. in.: Seated crowned king (Solomon) and a figure in red mantle and "ducal" cap (Géza) both with gesture of speech, attended by a few men, receive golden objects from a group of five (citizens of Niš) in long dresses, the leader of whom is kneeling.

⁵⁴⁰ Dated 1072, from Niš they took the relics of St. Procopius and presented to the Greek monastery at Sremska Mitrovica (see Kinnamos, *Historiae* 5.8; cf. John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, transl. Charles M. Brand p. 171 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).).

112. Interea viri de Nys multam in auro et argento et pretiosis palliis regi et duci habundanter obtulerunt. Deinde revertentes ab urbe Keve⁵⁴¹ rex et dux ab invicem sunt divisi. Ladizlaus autem consilio fratris sui de civitate Byhor⁵⁴² ivit in Rusciam, querere auxilium amicorum suorum,⁵⁴³ ut contra machinamenta regis sese premuniret. Iam enim omnibus innotuerat iniuria et discordia regis et ducum. Post hec collectis exercitibus, nunciis frequenter missis tandem rex et dux venerunt Strigonium, ibique ex conducto utrique eorum tantum cum octo hominibus inter episcopos et principes navigaverunt in insulam civitati proximam ad colloquendum. Ubi diu semetipsos incusantes et excusantes, tandem roborato federe pacis Geysa rediit in ducatum.⁵⁴⁴

113. Rex autem venit in Albam. Post hec misit ad Geysam ducem rex Vyd Deo detestabilem et Ernei mansuetum,⁵⁴⁵ quos Geysa fecit caute custodiri pre timore traditionis Vyd. Misit etiam dux ad regem episcopum Waradiensem et nequam Vatha,⁵⁴⁶ quos et rex fecit similiter custodiri. Rex autem de villa Meger⁵⁴⁷ ivit versus flumen Rabcha in occursum trium ducum Theutonicorum, quos in auxilium sibi contra ducem Geysam expectabat. Quia vero dux nec fratrem suum presentem habebat, nec amicorum auxilium, misit Vyd et Ernei ad regem data treuga a festo Sancti Martini usque ad festum Sancti Georgii.⁵⁴⁸ Quo audito rex misit Vatham et episcopum Waradiensem.

⁵⁴¹ Probably castle Keve on the military road between Belgrade and Niš.

⁵⁴² The ancient castle of Biharia was the center of the ducal territory.

⁵⁴³ Probably to the court of Grand Duke Sviatoslav (1073–76).

⁵⁴⁴ Similar formulation also in chapter 156, below, pp. 290–1.

⁵⁴⁵ His name as Erneyei was recorded in a charter c. 1067 (RA Nr 1554 and DHA 1: p. 185).

112. Meanwhile the men of Niš sent to the king and the duke rich gifts of gold and silver and precious cloaks. Then on their return from the city of Kovin,⁵⁴¹ the king and the duke separated. On the advice of his brother, Ladislav went from the castle of Biharia⁵⁴² to Rus' to ask the aid of his friends,⁵⁴³ so that he could be prepared against the machinations of the king. For the hostility between the king and the dukes was known to all. At length, after they had collected their armies and sent frequent messengers, the king and the duke came to Esztergom; and there, each attended only by eight men from among the bishops and great men who accompanied them—as had been agreed between them—they sailed to an island near the city in order to hold talk. After much mutual accusing and excusing, a treaty of peace was at last established, and Géza returned to his duchy.⁵⁴⁴

113. The king came to Fehérvár. After this, the king sent to Duke Géza the man Vid, detestable to God, and the gentle Ernyei;⁵⁴⁵ Géza, fearing Vid's treachery, caused that they be carefully guarded. The duke for his part sent to the king the bishop of Oradea and the good-for-nothing Vata,⁵⁴⁶ whom the king likewise placed under guard. The king went from the village of Megyer⁵⁴⁷ towards the river Rábca to meet three German dukes, whose assistance he was expected against Duke Géza. Since the duke had neither his brother at his side nor the help of friends, he sent Vid and Ernyei to the king and a truce was concluded from the feast of St. Martin until the feast of St. George.⁵⁴⁸ Whereupon the king sent back Vata and the Bishop of Oradea.

⁵⁴⁶ The parallel between a "good man" and a "bad" in both embassies is striking.

⁵⁴⁷ There were a number of settlements called Megyer in Hungary, this one must have been in Western Hungary as the named river runs into the Danube at Győr (Raab).

⁵⁴⁸ From 11 November 1073 till 24 April 1074.

114. Porro eo tempore rex Natale celebravit in loco, qui dicitur Geminum Castellum.⁵⁴⁹ Deinde venit Zalam, ubi Marchrat dux Theutonicorum⁵⁵⁰ et Vyd instigaverunt regem, ut ducem debellaret. Sug[80]gerebat enim Vyd regi hoc et huiuscemodi: Ecce nunc facile potes et indubitanter ducem devincere, quia destitutus est omni auxilio, et si distuleris eum agredi usque ad datas inducias, erit spes evadendi. Cumque rex Salomon venisset ad Zugzard et castra metatus esset super locum Kestelci, venit audire vespertas in monasterio Sancti Salvatoris.⁵⁵¹ Post vespertas vero in monasterio Vyd et alii consuluerunt regi dicentes: Domine, noveris, quod Ladizlaus in Rusciam ivit et Lampertus in Poloniam, conducere exercitum fratri eorum, duci Geyse, sepe consulimus tibi, <ut>^a nunc veniatis super ducem, qui venatur in Igfan,⁵⁵² noctis in silentio impetum faciamus super eum, capiamus eum et oculos eius eruamus.⁵⁵³ Et cum Ladizlaus et Lampertus venerint vel exercitum secum duxerint, contra nos stare non possint. Et cum hec audierint, etiam regnum intrare non adebunt. Et potestis facere, quia omnes consilarii sui tibi fideles sunt. Et ducatum michi dabis et ita confirmabis coronam tuam. Rex autem hoc audito promisit se cogitaturum usque ad matutinas. Et placuit consilium ante oculos eius.⁵⁵⁴ Abbas autem eiusdem loci, nomine Willermus Latinus, qui erat in absconso loco clausus, quasi Deum precans in monasterio, audivit consilium, quando factum est. Qui statim nuncium misit ad ducem et litteras, ut sibi de rege caveret. Cum autem nuncius ad ducem venisset, erant ibi iniqui consilarii et ipsius ducis traditores Petrud scilicet, Zounuk et Bykas,⁵⁵⁵ qui dixerunt: Domine dux, ne

^a <ut>] et *Ms*

⁵⁴⁹ Ikervár ('Twin castle') was a fortification with towers on both sides of the river Rába controlling the ford.

⁵⁵⁰ There were several German lords with this name (or Marchwart) thus he cannot be identified.

⁵⁵¹ The Benedictine monastery founded by King Béla I in 1061, where he was buried.

⁵⁵² A forest at the border of Hungary and Transylvania, in Anon. ch. 11, p. 32 identified it as *silva*, in ch. 50, p. 110 as *nemus*; today it is called Munții Plopișului. It belonged to County Bihor, that is to the territory of the duchy. The name Igfan (variant spelling 'Igyfon') means "holy forest."

114. At that time the king celebrated the feast of Christmas in the place which is called Ikervár.⁵⁴⁹ Then he came to Zala, where Marquard, duke of the Germans,⁵⁵⁰ and Vid urged the king to make war upon the duke. Vid made to the king these suggestions: "Without a doubt you can now easily subdue the duke since he has none to help him, and if you put off attacking him until the expiry of the truce he will have a hope of escape." When King Solomon had come to Szekszárd and had pitched his camp near a place called Kesztölc, he came to attend vespers in the monastery of the Holy Savior.⁵⁵¹ After vespers, still in the monastery, Vid and others counseled the king, saying: "You should know, sire, that Ladislav has gone to Rus' and Lampert to Poland to raise an army for their brother, Duke Géza; that you should attack the duke, we have often counseled you, and do so now. He is hunting in Igfan [Forest];⁵⁵² let us fall upon him in the silence of the night, take him captive, and put out his eyes.⁵⁵³ And when Ladislav and Lampert come and bring an army with them, they will not be able to stand against us. And when they will have heard these tidings, they will not even dare to enter the kingdom. This you can do because all his counselors are faithful to you. And you shall give me the duchy, and thus you will strengthen your crown." The king listened, and promised that he would reflect until the time of matins. And the advice was pleasing in his eyes.⁵⁵⁴ However, the abbot of this same monastery, whose name was William, a Latin, concealed in a hidden room, as if praying to God, listened while they took counsel. He immediately sent a messenger to the duke with letters warning him to be on his guard against the king. When the messenger came to the duke, there were evil counselors who were traitors to the duke, namely Petrud, Szolnok and Bikás,⁵⁵⁵ and they said: "Have no

⁵⁵³ Cf. above the blinding of Vazul (ch. 69, pp. 126–9).

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Judg 14: 7, etc.

⁵⁵⁵ Variant spellings are Petröd and Bikács. Neither of them is known from other sources.

timeas, quoniam abbas ebriosus est, et in ebrietate sua ad vos nuncium misit, et nescit quid loquatur. Hoc autem dicebant, quia volebant tradere ducem in manus Salomonis.

115. Dux autem in illis confidens ibidem, scilicet in Igfan venabatur. Sed fratrem suum Ladizlaum misit in Bohemiam, quia iam tunc reversus erat de Ruscia sine subsidio, ut rogaret Otthonem ducem Bohemorum, ut ipsis in necessitate positus auxiliaretur.⁵⁵⁶

116. In eodem mane, quando rex se cogitaturum statuerat, cum venisset ad matutinas, abbas idem abscondit se in monasterio, ut audiret [81] consilium, eo quod fidelis erat duci, quia filius fundatoris ecclesie sue fuerat. Cantatis igitur matutinis cum omnes exivissent, rex et Vid ibidem remanserunt et tale consilium statuerunt, sicut Vid regi facere laudaverat. Hoc autem predictus abbas audierat, monachalem statim deponens habitum et laicalem induens, gladiumque accingens ascendit equum et venit citissime ad ducem, quem mane dormientem invenit et excitavit eum, dicens ei: Fuge dux, et si non fugeris, statim milites Salomonis ad capiendum te appropinquant!⁵⁵⁷ Dux vero collecto exercitu suo voluit, ut citissime iret in partes Bohemie pro fratre suo Ladizlao, sed rex obviam ei veniebat. Regebat autem Vid sic regem, sicut magister discipulum, eratque sibi de iure, sine omni iure subditus, quod cavendum est omnibus hominibus, sed maxime regibus. Lactatusque est⁵⁵⁸ pessimo Vyð perfidi consilio, movit exercitum super ducem.

117. Dux vero cum exercitu suo obviavit regi in Kemey.⁵⁵⁹ Principes autem ducis ymo traditores, miserunt clamculo nuncios ad regem dicentes, quod si rex eos in dignitatibus suis teneret et in

⁵⁵⁶ Otto I the Handsome, duke of Olomouc 1061–87, duke of Brno 1055–61, son of Břetislav I. Otto's wife, Euphemia was the sister of Ladislav and Géza.

⁵⁵⁷ One of the medallions at the bottom of p. 81 of the IC depicts both the departure and the arrival of the abbot.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. Prov 16: 29.

fear, lord duke, for the abbot is a drunkard and in his drunkenness he has sent the messenger to you, and he does not know what he is saying.” They said this because they wanted to betray the duke into Solomon’s hands.

115. The duke believed them, and went indeed hunting in Igfan. But he sent his brother Ladislav, who had returned from Rus’ without succor, to Bohemia to ask Otto, the duke of the Czechs, to help them in their need.⁵⁵⁶

116. When in the morning the king came to matins, which was the time he had set himself for reflection, the abbot hid himself in the monastery in order that he might hear them taking counsel; for he was faithful to the duke because he was the son of the founder of his church. After matins had been sung and all had left, the king and Vid remained behind, and they decided on a plan approved by Vid for the king to follow. When the abbot heard this, he immediately laid aside his monk’s habit, donned a layman’s clothes, girt on a sword and mounting his horse rode with the utmost speed to the duke. He found him in a morning sleep and roused him, saying: “Flee, duke; if you do not flee, in this moment Solomon’s soldiers are approaching to capture you.”⁵⁵⁷ The duke, having gathered his army, wished to proceed as quickly as possible to Bohemian lands and to his brother Ladislav, but the king came against him. For Vid ruled the ruler as a master his disciple, and against any law the king was as if subject to him by law, which all men should avoid, but kings in particular. The king was duped⁵⁵⁸ by the evil counsel of the treacherous Vid and set his army in movement against the duke.

117. The duke with his army met the king in Kemej.⁵⁵⁹ The duke’s retainers or rather betrayers secretly sent messengers to the king to say that if the king would confirm them in their digni-

⁵⁵⁹ A region on the left bank of the river Tisza, its name survived as an archdeaconry of the Eger bishopric. The battle was fought on 26 February 1074.

gratiam susceperet, ipsi in bello relicto duce ad regem confluerent. Rex autem certificavit eos super hoc prestito iuramento et securus tunc transivit Tysciam glaciata super ducem. Cumque appropinquassent ad prelium, rex apud ecclesiam filii Nog⁵⁶⁰ armavit se, et coadunavit agmina sua ad dimicandum et impetum fecit super ducem ac ducem auxilio suorum fraudulenter destitutum superavit. Principes autem Geysa, Petrud et Bykas in ipso prelio cum tribus agminibus castrorum verterunt se ad Salomonem, sicut sibi promiserant.⁵⁶¹ Dux vero Geysa, quamvis maxima parte exercitus sui esset destitutus, non tamen abhorruit uno tantum agmine stipatus contra triginta Salomonis agmina seivissimum prelium committere. Traditores autem fugientes levabant clipeos suos in signum, quod regi dederant, quemadmodum Iudas traditor, qui dederat signum,⁵⁶² ne milites regis eos persequerentur. Exercitus autem regis ignarus prodicionis signi et vi[82]dentes agmina ducis fugere,



persecutus est ea usque ad interemptionem, ita quod vix paucissimi ex illis traditoribus mortem evaserunt, et utinam ex eis nullus evasisset, qui dominum suum benefactorem sceleratissime tradiderunt.⁵⁶³ Omnibus autem militibus suis pereuntibus declinavit dux a bello, transivitque Tysciam in Cothoyd⁵⁶⁴ et Georgium Nigrum capellanum suum ad fratrem suum Ladizlaum transmisit, ut quam citius posset, ad eum festinaret, Ivancam vero clericum suum literatum misit ad Lampertum.⁵⁶⁵ Cumque Geysa equitasset usque Vaciam, obviavit fratri suo Ladizlao et Otthoni duci, sororio eorum cum auxilio valido venientibus. Cumque dux Geysa vidisset

ties and received them in his grace, they would desert the duke in battle and come over to the king. The king gave them upon oath the desired assurance, and then, feeling himself secure, crossed over the frozen Tisza to attack the duke. When the battle was near, the king put on his armor in the church of the son of Nagy,⁵⁶⁰ and drew up his forces in battle array and launched his attack upon the duke, whom he overcame; for the duke had been fraudulently deprived of the help of his own men. For in the battle the lords Petrud and Bikás, who were with Géza, went over to Solomon, as they had promised, with three county detachments.⁵⁶¹ But Duke Géza, although deserted by the greatest part of his army, was not afraid to give most furious battle with his one detachment against Solomon's thirty. As the traitor Judas gave a sign, so the fleeing traitors,⁵⁶² as they had arranged with the king, raised their shields as a sign that the king's soldiers should not attack them. But the king's men did not know about this sign of betrayal, and seeing the duke's detachments in flight, they pursued them to their destruction, so that very few of those traitors escaped death; and would that not one of those had escaped who foully betrayed their lord and benefactor.⁵⁶³ As all his soldiers were killed, the duke withdrew from the battle, and crossed the Tisza at Kotojd;⁵⁶⁴ and sent his chaplain, George the Black, to his brother Ladislav to tell him to come with all speed, and his secretary, the cleric Ivánka, he sent to Lampert.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁰ Perhaps near to Karcag, not localized.

⁵⁶¹ As much as is known, troops of warriors attached to castles (hence: *agmen castris*) were organized by counties and led by their *ispáns*; see also above, ch. 105, p. 201.

⁵⁶² Cf. Mt 26: 47–50; Mk 14: 43–46.

⁵⁶³ This battle is represented in the second medallion at the bottom of p. 81 of the IC, in the background the "traitors" raising their shields. It is worth noting that the author of this part of the chronicle added a moral judgment to the story, not generally found in the text.

⁵⁶⁴ Identified by some as Tokaj, or by others as the river Kota, referring to the ferry of Tiszadorogma, cf. ch. 137.

⁵⁶⁵ The youngest son of Béla I, died c. 1095, he ruled the duchy of Bihar under King Ladislav I.

fratrem suum Ladizlaum, pre nimio dolore flebat, quia bonos et fideles suos amisisset et de traditoribus conquerebatur. Ladizlaus autem animo fortis fratrem suum confortabat, ne fleret, sed potius omnipotentis Dei clementiam exoraret, ut victorem victis subiugaret, quemadmodum forma bellorum est.

118. Rex autem et dux ante Quadragesimam pugnaverunt in Kemei, quarta feria post Dominicam, qua cantatur *Exsurge*.⁵⁶⁶ In hoc autem bello Opus filius Martini de genere Vecellini,⁵⁶⁷ miles gloriosus, militem ducis nomine Petrum⁵⁶⁸ audacissimum super equum submirteum, ceterosque precedentem, radiante lorica et deaurata galea perspicuum atque ad conflictum milites provocantem, singulari certamine superavit. Nam de agmine Salomonis ad predictum militem solus Opus super gilvum equum in lorica cucullata evulsus, in modum fulminis ictu lancee, rupta lorica Petrum per medium cor transfixit. In eodem autem bello tantam stragem crebris ictibus gladii sui fecit Opus, quod pre nimia reciprocatione ictuum dextra eius obriguerat et capulo gladii sui adhererat. Rex autem Salomon et maxime Theutonici mirabantur de potentia et audacia Opus in prelio.

119. Rex victoria potitus transivit Tysciam congelatam in Thoroyd et descendit in curia filii Petri,⁵⁶⁹ ibique audivit Geysam obviasse Ladizlao et Otthoni [83] ducibus cum valida multitudo pugnatorum ad se venientium. Vid vero detestabilis urgebat regem hiis verbis: Noviter exercitum eius confecimus, nobiliores occidimus, timorem ei inmisimus, et nunc servos congregavit, messorum

⁵⁶⁶ Sundays were named after the first word of the introit's prayer, so it is 26 February 1074.

⁵⁶⁷ When the present chronicle text was composed Vecellin was seen as the founder of this kindred, (for Vecellin see above, ch. 40, pp. 84–5), but by the thirteenth century the Ják kindred (or rather the Rád kindred – as some historians suppose) was connected with his name.

⁵⁶⁸ The eponymous founder of the Peter and Gurka kindred, mentioned in the next ch. 119, also identified as a member of the Aba kindred.

When Géza had ridden as far as Vác, he met his brother Ladislás and Duke Otto, his brother-in-law, bringing him powerful help. When Duke Géza saw his brother Ladislás, he wept in bitter sorrow because he had lost his good and faithful men, and he railed against the traitors. Ladislás, being strong of heart, comforted his brother and encouraged him that he should not weep but rather implore the mercy of the almighty God, that He might make the victor subject to the vanquished, as is the way of wars.

118. The battle at Kemej between the king and the duke was fought before Lent, on the Wednesday after the Sunday on which *Exsurge* is sung.⁵⁶⁶ In this conflict, Opos, the son of Martin, of the line of Vecellin,⁵⁶⁷ who was a soldier of great renown, overcame in single combat a most valiant warrior of the duke whose name was Peter,⁵⁶⁸ and who on his chestnut charger rode out in front of the others, conspicuous in his shining breastplate and gilt helmet, challenging the warriors to combat. On his dun horse and in a hooded leather jerkin Opos charged forth alone from Solomon's ranks, and hurling himself upon Peter like a thunderbolt he shattered his breastplate with a blow of his lance and pierced him right through the heart. In the same battle Opos wrought such destruction with blow after blow of his sword that his right hand became cramped with the repetition of the blows and cleaved to the hilt of his sword. King Solomon and especially the Germans marveled at the power and audacity of Opos in battle.

119. Having gained the victory, the king crossed the frozen Tisza at Kotojd and took up lodging in the house of the son of Peter.⁵⁶⁹ There he learned that Géza had met dukes Ladislás and Otto who, with a great host of fighting men, were coming towards him. Vid, the detestable, urged on the king with these words: "We have but newly wiped out his army, we have killed the

⁵⁶⁹ Localized as Péteri in Pest County.

coadunavit et eorum agmine se stipavit. Nichil ergo de eis debemus dubitare, quin eos in momento devorabimus. Bohemicum vero agmen, omnibus consod<al>ibus^a meis acquiescentibus, ego cum Bachiensibus premature mortis periculis afficiam. Erney autem semper pacis amator, cum hoc audivit, flebat. Quem cum Salomon vidisset flere, dixit: Comes Erney, videtur michi, quod tu fidelis sis duci, tantummodo apud me simulatus manes. Cui Erney respondit: Nequaquam, domine, sed nollem, quod cum fratribus tuis pugnares, et ut milites interficerent se ad invicem, filius patrem vel pater filium. Deinde Vid comiti dixit Erney: Tu laudas domino pugnare cum fratribus et dicis, quia falcatores et furcantes coadunasset. Vide, quia mille falcantes, quod incidunt, decem milia furcatorum congregare non potuerunt et absque Deo numerare non valebunt. Nobis aptum est pro rege mori, sed esset melius, ut potiori uteremur consilio. Rex ergo in verbis Vyd confidens festinavit cum exercitu suo et in quarta feria descendit in Racus.⁵⁷⁰ Sed et duces Geysa, Ladizlaus et Ottho ac totus exercitus Hungarorum, qui erat cum eis, descenderunt circa Vaciam. Fuit autem ibi magna silva, et nemo in ea manserat preter unum heremitam, nomine Wach, sancte vite, ex cuius nomine dux Geysa illi civitati postea ibi constructe nomen imposuit.⁵⁷¹

120. Cum igitur exercitus predictus Salomonem contra se expectaret, duces quodam mane in equis causa consiliandi stabant in loco, ubi modo est capella lapidea Beati Petri apostoli,⁵⁷² tractantes, qualiter sint pugnaturi. Et dum ibi starent, clara die vidit Beatus Ladizlaus visionem de celo⁵⁷³ et ait ad Geysam ducem fratrem suum:

^a consod<al>ibus] consoladibus *Ms*

⁵⁷⁰ Near to Pest, where on the fields of the creek Rákos musters of the army and later the diets were held; see János M. Bak and András Vadas, "Diets and synods in and around Buda," in: *Medieval Buda in Context* pp. 322–344.

⁵⁷¹ This could have been some local tradition; in fact, the city existed long before then, probably founded by King Stephen I.

⁵⁷² The founding of this church was inserted into the chronicle in order to help its claims against the bishops of Vác concerning ecclesiastical privileges.

nobler among them, we have put fear into him, and now he has assembled serfs, gathered reapers together and surrounded himself with their rabble. We need therefore have no doubt but that we will destroy them in a moment. If my comrades agree, I and the people of Bács will afflict the peril of early death to the Czech army." When he heard this, Erneyei, who was ever a lover of peace, wept. When Solomon saw him weeping, he said: "*Ispán* Erneyei, it seems to me that your loyalty is to the duke, and that your remaining with me is but a show." Erneyei answered him: "By no means, sire; but I would not that you should fight with your brothers nor that in the slaughter of the warriors son should kill father, or father son." Then Erneyei said to *ispán* Vid: "You approve that the king should fight against his brothers, and you say that the duke has assembled men with scythes and men with pitchforks. Behold, what a thousand scythes can cut down, ten thousand pitchforks cannot gather up, and only God may know their number. It is proper that we should die for the king, but it was better if we used sounder counsel." The king put trust in Vid's words and hastened forward with his army, and on the Wednesday he halted at Rákos.⁵⁷⁰ The Dukes Géza, Ladislav and Otto and the army of all the Hungarians who stood with them, took up their position near Vác. There was a great forest there, and no one dwelt in it except a hermit, named Vác, a man of holy life, after whom Duke Géza called the city which was later built there.⁵⁷¹

120. One morning, while their army awaited Solomon's approach, the dukes, seated on their horses at the spot where now stands the stone chapel of the blessed apostle Peter,⁵⁷² were discussing the conduct of the battle. While they stood there, the blessed Ladislav saw in broad daylight a vision from heaven,⁵⁷³

⁵⁷³ A medaillon on the bottom of page 83 of the IC is devoted to the vision of Ladislav, showing the two dukes and an angel placing the crown on Géza's head.

m milia fuit de celo porta



Vidisti aliquid? Qui respondit: Nichil. Tunc Beatus Ladizlaus subiunxit: Dum staremus hic in consilio, ecce *angelus Domini descendit de celo*⁵⁷⁴ portans coronam auream [84] in manu sua, et inpressit capiti tuo, unde certus sum, quod nobis victoria donabitur et Salomon exul fugiet debellatus extra regnum. Regnum vero et corona tibi tradetur a Domino.⁵⁷⁵ Cui

Geysa ait: Si dominus Deus fuerit nobiscum et custodierit nos ab inimicis nostris et visio hec fuerit adimpleta, edificabo hic in loco isto ecclesiam sacratissime Virginis Marie, genitricis sue.⁵⁷⁶

121. Hoc dicto castra moverunt et descenderunt in allodio, quod dicitur Zymgota. Mons autem quidam nomine Monorod interiacebat exercitum, et lucescente quinta feria volebant preliari, sed densissima obscuritas supervenientis nebule eos impedivit.⁵⁷⁷ Nocte vero insequenti dexterarios suos per habenas in manibus tenentes ortum solis prestolabantur.⁵⁷⁸ In diluculo autem sexte ferie rex ordinatis agminibus suis equitavit trans verticem montis Monorod et precepit salmariis, ut in latere eiusdem montis remanerent, quatenus hostes videntes turmas illorum, non sarcina<rio>s, sed in presidio constitutos esse putarent. Vyd autem dicebat: Statim, ut exercitum nostrum viderint, fugient. Sed et duces summo mane suas acies ordinarunt. Cumque Ladizlaus se armaret, in terram se prostravit et omnipotentis Dei clementiam postulavit, et Beato Martino votum vovit, ut si Dominus ei victoriam conce-

⁵⁷⁴ Mt 28: 2.

⁵⁷⁵ For biblical parallels cf. Dan 3: 49; Zech 3: 1–7, 4: 1–6; 6: 9–13, where priest Joshua is becoming king. Some scholars argue that the crown here could refer to a crown (perhaps the lower, Greek part of the Holy Crown), a present of the Byzantine Emperor Michael II Dukas to Géza I. The notion of an “angelic crown” appears in later texts (here in ch. 192, pp. 350–1), but never in an official or royal

and he said to his brother Géza: "Did you see anything?" He answered: "Nothing." Then the blessed Ladislás said further: "While we stood here in council, behold, an *angel of the Lord came down from heaven* ⁵⁷⁴ bearing a golden crown in his hand, and he placed it upon your head, whence I know of a certainty that we shall be given the victory and that Solomon will flee from the kingdom as a defeated exile and that the crown will be given to you by the Lord."⁵⁷⁵ Géza said to him: "If the Lord God will be with us and guard us from our enemies, and if this vision shall be fulfilled, I will build here a church for His mother, the most holy Virgin Mary."⁵⁷⁶

121. After he had said this, they moved camp and halted at a place called Cinkota. A mountain, of which the name was Mogyoród, lay between the armies, and at dawn on Thursday they wished to join battle, but they were prevented by a cloud of thick darkness.⁵⁷⁷ In the following night, holding the reins of their chargers in their hands, they awaited the dawn.⁵⁷⁸ When Friday broke, the king drew up his line of battle and rode across the summit of the mountain of Mogyoród, and ordered the baggage trains to remain on the side of the mountain, so that the enemy, seeing these bodies of men, should think that they were not sutlers but were deployed there for combat. Vid said: "As soon as they see our army, they will flee." But the dukes at earliest dawn also drew up their lines of battle. Putting on his armor, Ladislás prostrated himself on the earth, and besought the mercy of Almighty God, and made a vow to the blessed Martin that if the Lord would

context. The occasionally argued connection to the angel in the pope's vision, who (according to Hartvic, SRH 2: p. 413 cf. Berend in: *Head* pp. 383–4) instructed Sylvester II to grant the crown to Stephen or the similar claim that Byzantine imperial insignia were of divine-angelic origin (DAI ch. 13, p. 67) is tenuous.

⁵⁷⁶ The reference would be to the cathedral of Vác, although the bishopric was founded by King Stephen I.

⁵⁷⁷ For a similar celestial intervention see above, ch. 76, pp. 144–5.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. *La chanson d'Aspremont. Chanson de geste du XIIIe siècle*, éd. Louis Brandin (Paris: Champion, 1923–1924, repr. 1970) lines 4630–33.

deret, in eodem loco ecclesiam in honore Beati Martini construeret. Quod et factum est.⁵⁷⁹ Et in medio siquidem Bihoriensi agmine Ladizlaum locato ex sinistra parte, Otthonem vero ex dextera constituerunt. Geysam vero in Nitriensi agmine in medio collocaverunt.⁵⁸⁰ Preterea ex utraque parte ter tria agmina quaternatim connectendo conservaverunt. Cumque rex de monte descenderet, exercitus Geyse, qui inferiori loco erat, videbatur elevatior^a cunctis exercitibus Salomonis. Quo viso dixit Erney ad comitem Vyd: Mirum est, si agmina ista fugiant a facie nostra, quia Danubium post dorsum eorum non dimisissent, sed puto, ut ipsi proposuerunt vincere sive mori. Dux autem Ladizlaus ante exercitum suum super arduum equum residens gratia exortandi suos et animandi in girum [85] flexit abenas. Cumque tetigisset veprem lancea, quendam hermelina albiissima mirum in modum lancee eius insedit et super ipsam discurrendo in sinum eius usque devenit.⁵⁸¹ Cum autem commissum esset prelium, comes Vyd et Bachienses in primo ictu a Bohemis miserabiliter sunt prostrati. Ladizlaus autem dux commutaverat signa sua cum vexillo ducis Geyse ea intentione, quod Salomon audacius invaderet illud agmen, in quo signa Geyse gestabantur, putans esse agmen Geyse, quem nuper devicerat. Dux autem Ladizlaus affectabat custodire fratrem suum Geysam ducem ab insultu Salomonis et ideo primos inpetus belli in se maluit experiri.^b Rex itaque cum venisset ad agmen Ladizlai, ipso cognito timore eius perterritus precepit signiferis declinare agmina super agmina ducis Geyse. Ladizlaus autem videns regem pre timore divertisse a se, ipse primus omnium irruit super agmina regis, cunctique milites sui impetum fecerunt super eum a tergo. Sed ex adverso Geysa dux cum suis acriter invasit eosdem. Milites autem Ladizlai agmina Salomonis, tamquam in cortinis retro respicientia, terribili

^a Elevatior] elevatior *Ms*

^b expe <d>iri] experiri *Ms*

⁵⁷⁹ A strange story, because in other sources Ladislav was never mentioned as the founder of this church, which was dedicated probably to St. George. The chronicler makes Ladislav imitate St. Stephen for the first king made a vow to St. Martin before his decisive fight, see above ch. 64, pp. 110–1.

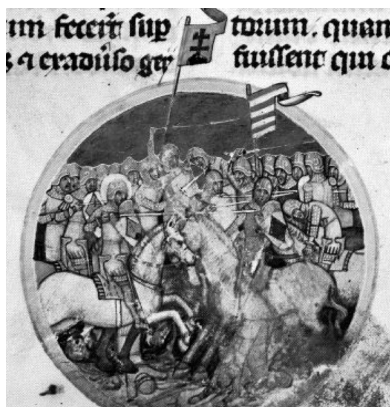
grant him the victory, he would build in that place a church in honor of the blessed Martin. And this was done.⁵⁷⁹ With the troops from Biharia, Ladislás stood on the left flank and Otto on the right, while Géza with the troops from Nitra was stationed in the center.⁵⁸⁰ On both sides three times three detachments, drawn up four deep, were held in reserve. When the king came down from the mountain, Géza's army, on lower ground, seemed to be higher than all Solomon's men. Seeing this, Ernyei said to *ispán* Vid "It would be a wonder if those armies fled before us, for they did turn their back to the Danube. I think rather that they have resolved to win or die." Seated on his tall horse, Duke Ladislás wheeled this way before his men to exhort and embolden them. As he touched a bush with his lance, marvelous to relate, an ermine of purest white sat itself upon his lance and then ran up it to his bosom.⁵⁸¹ When battle was joined, *ispán* Vid and his men from Bács were miserably overwhelmed in the first onslaught of the Czechs. Duke Ladislás had changed his standard for that of Duke Géza with the intention that Solomon, believing that these were Géza's men whom he had recently defeated, should attack more boldly the troops bearing Géza's flag. For Duke Ladislás wished to protect his brother Géza from Solomon's assault and desired rather to bear the first brunt of the battle. But when the king came near to Ladislás's army and recognized that it was he, in his fear and terror he ordered his standard-bearers to turn his troop aside against Duke Géza. Seeing the frightened king thus veer away from him, Ladislás at the head of his men charged the king's forces and all his warriors followed him into the attack; and from the other side Géza and his men assaulted them fiercely. Ladislás' warriors sent Solomon's troops, as if locked in a cattle, peer-

⁵⁸⁰ Nitra was the other center of the duchy.

⁵⁸¹ For the symbolism of the ermine cf. Isidore, *Etym.* (12.7) where the ermine is able to defeat the dragon serpent. A similar scene in a decisive moment is described by Paul the Deacon in his *Historia Langobardorum* (6.55, MGH SSrerLang, p. 184).

tinnitu gladiatorum sauciata *in morte concluderunt*^a crudeli.⁵⁸² Sed ex transverso milites Geyse pocula dire mortis eisdem propinarunt. Ceduntur Theutonici, fugiunt Latini,⁵⁸³ locumque fuge non inveniunt et cadunt ante Hungaros, ut boves in maccello. Rex autem Salomon fere omnibus suis interfectis aufugit et in Zigetfeu⁵⁸⁴ Danubium transiens cum Opus Martini filio venit tandem in Musun ad matrem et uxorem. Persecutusque est eum et suos exercitus ducum a mane usque ad vesperam. In prefato namque prelio non solum Teutonici aut Latini ceciderunt, sed maior pars militie regni Hungarie dicitur corruisse.

122. Duces autem Geysa et Ladizlaus triumpho victoriae divinitus sublimati⁵⁸⁵ super cadavera interfectorum Deo ter laudes proclamaverunt. Dux autem Ladizlaus, sicut erat semper eximie pietatis, videns tot milia interfectorum, quamvis inimici eius fuissent, qui occisi erant, tamen [86] *commota* sunt omnia *viscera eius super*⁵⁸⁶ illos, *et flevit* eos amare scindens sibi genas et capillos planctu magno, tamquam mater in funere filiorum. Postea de spoliis eorum



constructa est ecclesia de Monorod.⁵⁸⁷ Marchart vero dux Teutonicorum et Sentepolug dux Bohemorum⁵⁸⁸ capti sunt, militibus suis interfectis et ipsis graviter vulneratis. Cumque Ladizlaus perambulet gremens in cadaveribus mortuorum, videns cadaver^b Erney comitis statim de equo prosiliit et ipsum amplexatus est, cui flens dicebat: Erney comes, pacis

^a conclusit *Ms*] *recte* concluderunt

^b cadaver] cadavera *Ms*

⁵⁸² Cf. Ps 77: 50.

⁵⁸³ Latins are perhaps in the meaning of "hired warriors", cf. ch. 126. Kinnamos mentions Lombards as Byzantine mercenaries for 1128 (1.4; cf. *Deeds*, p. 18).

ing backwards, in a frightening clamor of swords *to their death*⁵⁸². From the other side Géza's warriors gave them the cup of dreadful death to drink. The Germans yield, the Latins⁵⁸³ flee, and find no place to flee to, and they fall before the Hungarians like oxen in the slaughter-house. Almost all his men having been killed, King Solomon took to flight, and crossing the Danube at Szigetfő⁵⁸⁴ with Opos, the son of Martin, he came at last to his mother and wife at Moson. From dawn to dusk the armies of the dukes pursued him and his men. In this battle not only Germans and Latins fell, but the greater part of the warriors of the Hungarian kingdom is also said to have perished.

122. Lifted up in the triumph of the God-given victory,⁵⁸⁵ the dukes Géza and Ladislav proclaimed thrice the praises of God over the bodies of the slain. But Duke Ladislav, who was always a man of exceeding piety, was moved to compassion when he saw so many thousands fallen, even though those who were killed had been his enemies; *his heart was moved*⁵⁸⁶ and lacerating his cheeks and tearing his hair, he *wept* over them bitter tears, like a mother at the grave of her sons. From the spoils of the battlefield there was later built the church of Mogyoród.⁵⁸⁷ Markward, the leader of the Germans, and Svatopluk, the duke of the Czechs,⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁴ A ferry on the Danube at Rácalmás, at the eastern side of Csepel Island.

⁵⁸⁵ This battle as God's judgment was recognized by Pope Gregory VII in his letter to King Géza, however, emphasizing the intervention of St. Peter (23 March 1075, Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Regesta*, Nr. 4944, p. 613; cf. Cowdrey, *Register*, p. 157, 2.63).

⁵⁸⁶ Gen 43: 30, cf. Gen 50:10.

⁵⁸⁷ Mogyoród was indeed a royal monastery, later dedicated to St George. The Moravian duke, Otto also founded a monastery after the battle: Hradište in Moravia, see László Koszta, "A hradištei bencés monostor alapításának magyar vonatkozásai," [Hungarian connections in the foundation of the Benedictine monastery of H.] in: *Blazovich László emlékkönyv*, Elemér Balogh, Mária Homoki-Nagy, eds., pp. 403–425 (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2013).

⁵⁸⁸ Both sides were supported by foreign auxiliaries. It is doubtful that Henry IV would have sent Duke Svatopluk of Moravia (d. 1109) to the aid of Solomon. This may be a textual corruption and not Czechs, but warriors from Rus' were in Solomon's army, or some other Slavic leader with this name—as there are no known Rurikides so called at this time—joined him. The issue is open for debate.

amator, doleo super te, quasi super fratrem meum, quia cor tuum et consilium tuum pace plenum erat. Quem manu propria levans osculatus est eum precepitque militibus suis, ut eum <W> acie^a honorifice sepelirent. Cumque idem Ladizlaus ex alia parte ambularet, vidit cadaver Vyd et ait: Doleo super morte tua, quamvis nobis semper inimicus fuisses, utinam vixisses et conversus fuisses et pacem inter nos firmasses. Sed miror, quia de genere ducum non fuisti, cur ducatum volebas, nec de propagine, quare coronam optabas?⁵⁸⁹ Video nunc, quia cor, quod ad ducatum anhelabat, lancea perforatum iacet, et caput, quod coronam optabat, gladio scissum est. Sed et ipsum sepelire precepit. Milites ergo Geyse et Ladizlai, qui consilio Vid in bello de morte fratrum vel filiorum amaritudine complexi fuerant, statim de equo descenderunt et pectus cum cu<l>tello scindentes ad oculos suos diverterunt, et terram in oculos eius proicientes dixerunt: Numquam oculi tui rebus et nobilitate satiati sunt, nunc autem oculos tuos et pectus terra satiet.⁵⁹⁰ Dux autem Bohemorum Ottho,⁵⁹¹ qui animam suam pro eis posuerat, copiose remuneratus repatriavit.

123. Cumque Salomon venisset ad Musun, videns mater eius, fleuit super eum, sicut debet super unicum filium suum,⁵⁹² qui tantis bonis a Deo privatus fuerat et increpabat dicens⁵⁹³: Fili karissime,

^a <W>acie] Bacie Ms

⁵⁸⁹ The Latin *de propagine* does not clarify what lineage is meant. It is being debated whether the chronicle refers here to the royal or to the ducal crown. As mentioned above (n. 472, p. 176), the existence of a formal ducal crown is uncertain.

⁵⁹⁰ This passage follows a very similar scene, when Queen Tomyris met the dead Kyros on the battle field, described by Herodotus (1.214) and Justin, *Epitome* 1.8 (Ed. Otto Seel, Stuttgart: Teubner, 1972, pp. 11–12.), cf. Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, 19.1 (MPL 198: col. 1478).

⁵⁹¹ Otto was duke of Olomouc (d. 1087), father of the aforementioned Svatopluk.

⁵⁹² In fact, Solomon had a younger brother, David, mentioned above, ch. 100 (pp. 190–1) who died only after c. 1091 (see DHA 1, pp. 264–5; RA Nr. 23, 24).

⁵⁹³ This literary fictive dialogue between mother and son is similar to the one in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Ro-

were taken prisoner, their men having been killed and they gravely wounded. While Duke Ladislás went with groans among the bodies of the dead, seeing the body of *ispán* Ernyei; he immediately leapt down from his horse and embraced him, saying to him in tears: “*Ispán* Ernyei, lover of peace, I grieve over you as over my own brother, because your heart and your mind were full of peace.” He lifted him up with his own hands and kissed him, and gave instructions to his warriors that they should give him honorable burial at Vác. As he rode further, he saw Vid’s corpse, and said: “I mourn your death, although you were always an enemy to us; I would that you had lived and had changed, and had established peace between us. But I wonder that you, not being of ducal blood, should have wanted a duchy, and that you should have desired a crown when you were not of a [proper] lineage.⁵⁸⁹ Now I see that the heart which aspired to a duchy is pierced with a lance, and the head which desired a crown is cleft with a sword.” But he gave order that he also should be buried. However, the warriors of Géza and Ladislás, sorely embittered at the death of brothers and sons in a war which Vid had instigated, forthwith dismounted from their horses and with their knives cut open his breast, and put out his eyes and filled the sockets with earth, and said: “Your eyes could never look their fill on riches and rank, but now your eyes and breast shall have their fill of earth.”⁵⁹⁰ Otto, duke of the Czechs,⁵⁹¹ who had risked his life for his friends, returned with rich reward to his own country.

123. When Solomon came to Moson, his mother wept, and rightly so, seeing her only son,⁵⁹² from whom God had taken away so much of his wealth, and she spoke to him words of reproach:⁵⁹³ “Dearest

salind Hill IX.22.9 (London: Thomas Nelson, 1962), where the defeated Muslim leader and his mother are quarreling. For the theme in general, see Natasha Hodgson, “The Role of Kerbogha’s Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade,” in: *Gendering the Crusades*, Susan B. Edgington, Sarah Lambert, eds., pp. 163–176 (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001).

numquam consilium meum audisti, nec consilium Erney, nec consilium aliorum fidelium tuorum, sed semper acquiescebas consilio Vyd, et ecce destruxisti te et tuos. Nonne semper lau[87]davi et dixi, quod sufficit tibi corona Hungarie et ut dares ducatum in pace fratribus tuis. Nunc autem Vyd dux esse non potuit, nec tu amplius coronaberis. Quo audito rex iratus voluit matrem suam in faciem percutere, cuius manum uxor sua retinuit. Iam enim cognoverat rex Salomon, *quod non auxiliaretur ei Dominus*⁵⁹⁴ in bello, et in eadem nocte collegit se festinanter in Musun et Poson,⁵⁹⁵ que castra iam pridem muniverat. Matrem quoque et uxorem suam, quando in prelium ivit, illic reliquerat, ob quam causam victus in prelio, ob timorem ducum ibi se recepit.

124. DE CORONATIONE GEYSE REGIS

⁵⁹⁶Porro duces Geysa et Ladizlaus cum exercitu Albam venerunt. Deinde Castrum Porte, Bobuth⁵⁹⁷ et Albam ac alia castra fortissimorum militum presidio munientes, dimissoque exercitu habitabant in Hungaria. Tunc Geysa dux Magnus⁵⁹⁸ compellentibus Hungaris coronam regni suscepit. Post coronationem⁵⁹⁹ autem veniens in locum, ubi facta visio fuerat, et ceperunt cum fratre suo Ladizlao proponere de loco fundamenti ecclesie ad honorem Virginis matris fabricande. Et dum ibi starent iuxta Vaciam, ubi nunc est ecclesia Beati Petri apostoli, apparuit eis cervus habens cornua plena arden-

⁵⁹⁴ 2 Chron 26: 15.

⁵⁹⁵ Since according to our text Solomon arrived at Moson earlier, this contradiction may stem from the conflation of different textual traditions.

⁵⁹⁶ Hist. in: Haloed prince with battle axe (Ladislás) and a king with orb and radiating crown (Géza) attended by two warriors, one shooting with bow and arrow, left; stag with burning candles on its antlers in forestscape, right.

⁵⁹⁷ These castles defended the country from the west, like in the case of Kapuvár [in Hungarian “castle of the gate”] where the main road led through the castle civilian and military traffic could be controlled.

⁵⁹⁸ The added name “Magnus” could refer to a Christian (baptismal?) name (St. Magnus), or perhaps that he was the older brother. Géza I used this by-name on

son, never did you heed my counsel, nor the counsel of Ernyei, nor the counsel of your faithful men, but you always followed the counsel of Vid, and behold, you destroyed you and yours. Did I not always recommend and urge that the crown of Hungary should suffice you, and that you should grant the duchy to your brothers in peace? But now neither could Vid become a duke nor shall you longer wear the crown." At these words the king was angered and was about to strike his mother in the face, but his wife held his hand. King Solomon now knew that in war the *Lord's help was not with him*;⁵⁹⁴ and in the same night he speedily betook himself to Moson and Pressburg,⁵⁹⁵ whose castles he had previously fortified. He had left his mother and his wife there when he went to battle; and therefore, defeated in battle, he withdrew thither, in fear of the dukes.

124. CORONATION OF KING GÉZA

⁵⁹⁶The Dukes Géza and Ladislás came with their army to Fehérvár. They made Kapuvár, Babót,⁵⁹⁷ Fehérvár and other castles secure with garrisons of the bravest warriors; then they dismissed the army and took up their residence in Hungary. Then at the insistence of the Hungarians the great Duke Géza⁵⁹⁸ accepted the throne of the kingdom. After his coronation⁵⁹⁹ he went to the place where the vision had appeared, and he and his brother Ladislás contemplated the site where the church in honor of the Virgin Mother is to be built. As they were standing at a spot near Vác, where is now the church of the blessed apostle Peter, a stag appeared to them with many candles burning upon its

his coins and charters, and it appears in the Annals of Pressburg ad a. 1071, SRH 1: p. 126) as well.

⁵⁹⁹ At an unknown date after the battle, he was crowned not with the ancient (later called the Holy) crown because it remained in the possession of Solomon till c. 1080. Whether the "Greek crown" (see above ch. 120, n. 575 on p. 222) was used at this time, cannot be determined.

tibus candelis, cepitque fugere coram eis versus silvam et in loco, ubi nunc est monasterium,⁶⁰⁰ fixit pedes suos.⁶⁰¹ Quem cum milites sagittarent, proiecit se in Danubium, et eum ultra non viderunt. Quo viso Beatus Ladizlaus ait: Vere non cervus, sed angelus Dei erat. Et dixit Geysa rex: Dic michi, dilecte frater, quid fieri volunt omnes candeles ardentes vise in cornibus cervi.⁶⁰² Respondit Beatus Ladizlaus: Non sunt cornua, sed ale, non sunt candeles ardentes, sed penne fulgentes, [88] pedes vero fixit, quia ibi locum demonstravit, ut ecclesiam Beate Virgini non alias, nisi hic edificari faceremus. Ut autem locus prime visionis non sit sine edificio, a Geys<a>^a rege et suis fratribus decretum est, ut ibi capella in honore Beati Petri, principis apostolorum fundaretur. Rex igitur Geysa fundavit ecclesiam Vaciensem et dotavit eam prediis multis et possessionibus.⁶⁰³ Non solum ecclesiam illam, verum etiam Budensem,⁶⁰⁴ cui constituit tributum de Pesth et tres villas in Simigio ac ornamenta pretiosa.

125. Eo tempore⁶⁰⁵ Bisseni unanimiter rogaverunt regem Geysam, ut si eos libertati donaret, ipsi insultus regis Salomonis omnino cohercerent ita, quod nec auderet exire de Musun et Poson ad temptandam Hungariam.⁶⁰⁶ Rex autem Geysa se petitioni eorum condescensurum promisit, si ipsi hoc, quod promiserunt, adimplerent. Bisseni itaque cum principe eorum Zultan nomine equitaverunt super regem Salomonem. Rex autem Salomon marchionem Theutonicorum promissa pecunia in auxilium ascivit.⁶⁰⁷ Cumque obviam ageret Bissenis marchio, videns horribiles aspectu et ter-

^a Geys<a>] Geyse *Ms*

⁶⁰⁰ The reference is actually to the church of the Virgin, as below.

⁶⁰¹ A common motif in medieval hagiographic literature, recalling the story of St. Eustace who in his vision saw a stag having a luminous crucifix between its antlers.

⁶⁰² The exact literary model of this picture is not yet identified, the candles in the antlers do not appear too often in the hagiography.

⁶⁰³ See above, n. 576 on p. 223.

⁶⁰⁴ The collegiate chapter in Buda (Óbuda) was probably founded by King Peter, and received the grants of toll and villages not by Géza I but by King Géza II in 1148 and later, see now the study of Enikő Spekner in *Medieval Buda in Context* pp. 71–91 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

horns, and it began to run swiftly before them towards the wood, and at the spot where is now the monastery,⁶⁰⁰ it halted and stood still.⁶⁰¹ When the warriors shot their arrows at it, it leapt into the Danube, and they saw it no more. At this sight the blessed Ladislás said: "Truly that was no a stag, but an angel of God." And King Géza said: "Tell me, beloved brother, what may all the candles signify which we saw burning on the stag's horns."⁶⁰² The blessed Ladislás answered "They are not horns, but wings; they are not burning candles, but shining feathers. It has shown to us that we are to build the church of the Blessed Virgin on the place where it planted its feet, and not elsewhere." But in order that the site of the first vision should not be without an edifice, King Géza and his brothers decreed that a chapel should be erected there in honor of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles. King Géza therefore founded the church of Vác and endowed it with many villages and possessions.⁶⁰³ This was not the only church, but also the church of Buda,⁶⁰⁴ which he granted the toll of Pest, and three villages in Somogy, and precious ornaments.

125. At this time⁶⁰⁵ the Pechenegs with one accord requested King Géza that if he gave them liberty they would hold in check all assaults of King Solomon, so that he would not dare to leave Moson and Pressburg threatening Hungary.⁶⁰⁶ King Géza promised that he would accede to their request if they kept their word. So the Pechenegs with their prince, whose name was Zoltán, rode forth against King Solomon. By promise of money, King Solomon secured the help of the margrave of the Germans.⁶⁰⁷ But when the margrave went out to meet the

⁶⁰⁵ That is in 1074 or 1075.

⁶⁰⁶ Considerable Pecheneg population was settled along the western border areas, where they enjoyed privileges in as late as the thirteenth century, see András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*, pp. 7–38 (Budapest: Corvina, 1989); also Anon. ch. 25, p. 61.

⁶⁰⁷ Margrave Ernst of Babenberg (1055–75); Lampert of Hersfeld (MGH SSrG 38, p. 219) mentions that he scored several victories against the Hungarians.

ribiles, timuit. Presertim quia subiit in mentem sibi, quam miserabiliter perierant per Hungaros Willermus et Poth et Marcard duces.⁶⁰⁸ Dixitque regi simulatorie, quod in quadragesimali tempore bellum non committerent.⁶⁰⁹ Sed si rex vellet, confliget, et si Bisseni prevalerent, tunc ipse indubitanter regi auxiliaretur. Et sic ascendit cum suo exercitu in montem Bachy⁶¹⁰ et inde prospiciebat conflictus preliantium. Cum autem venissent ad conflictum, Bisseni fugierunt a facie Salomonis, *sicut fluit cera a facie ignis*,⁶¹¹ et multis ex eis interfectis, alii^a in stagno Ferteu submersis, pauci cum Zultan fugiendo evaserunt. Victis itaque Bissenis marchio pecuniam petivit a Salomone, cui ille nichil dedit. Ipse autem minabatur ei, quod eum ante imperatorem accusaret, quia pre timore se ostendere non esset ausus vilissimis Bissenis. Marchio itaque predictus, nomine Hernuh iratus voluit venire super Salomonem, sed timens imper[89]atorem cessavit et tristis reversus est ad propria.

126. ADVENTUS IMPERATORIS

⁶¹²Postea autem rex Salomon metuens Geysam regem et ipsius fratres cum rebus et familia Stiriam introivit, et in claustrum Agmund⁶¹³ matre et uxore derelictis in Musun est reversus volens collecto exercitu invadere fratres suos. Cumque de die in diem Salomon deficeret, sed illorum processus reciperet felicia incrementa, confusus ad cesarem direxit gressus suos, ut ei auxilium tribueret

^a ali*<i>'>s*] alios *Ms*

⁶⁰⁸ For their names cf. above, chs. 93, 114, 122.

⁶⁰⁹ It was common to suspend warfare during Lent or at church holidays.

⁶¹⁰ The hill should be somewhere in the western border area, but it is still not localized.

⁶¹¹ Ps 67: 2; Mic 1: 4; and also quoted by Anon. ch. 44 (p. 97).

⁶¹² Hist. in: Emperor with scepter seated on throne-bench (Henry IV) receives homage (hands enclosed) from genuflecting person (Solomon), a crown lying on the ground, three persons (two in long robes, one in doublet with golden rimmed cape) attending.

Pechenegs, beholding their horrible and terrible appearance, he got scared especially because it came into his mind how miserably the dukes William, Poth, and Markward⁶⁰⁸ had perished at the hands of the Hungarians. He dissembled and said to the king that they should not make war during the time of Lent,⁶⁰⁹ but let the king fight if he wished; and if the Pechenegs proved the stronger, then he would surely come to the king's help. So he went up the mountain of Becs with his army,⁶¹⁰ and from there he watched the course of the battle. When the battle was joined, the Pechenegs fled before the face of Solomon, *even as wax runs in the face of the fire*.⁶¹¹ Many of them were killed and others were drowned in the marshes of Fertő, and only a few escaped with Zoltán. When the Pechenegs had been thus defeated, the margrave asked Solomon for his money, but he did not give him any and threatened that he would accuse him before the emperor that out of cowardice he did not dare to show himself before the worthless Pechenegs. In his anger, the margrave, whose name was Ernst, wanted to attack Solomon, but fearing the emperor he desisted and returned home sorrowfully.

126. THE ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR

⁶¹²Threafter, in fear of King Géza and his brothers, King Solomon betook himself with his possessions and his family to Styria, and having left his mother and his wife in the cloister of Admont,⁶¹³ he returned to Moson, wishing to collect an army and to march against his cousins. But from day to day Solomon's plight grew worse, while their cause prospered, and so in his trouble he directed his steps towards the emperor, that he should be

⁶¹³ The Benedictine monastery of Admont was consecrated in 1074, but a nunnery is mentioned first only in 1128. Solomon's wife left the nunnery and married the Polish king Władisław I Hermann c. 1088.

in Hungariam revertendi. Et licet pecuniam dedisset affluenter pro militibus solidandis, Theutonici tamen et Latini cum ipso ob metum non venerunt Hungarorum. Rex autem Salomon conquerebatur cesari de amissione regni dicens, quod de regno suo violenter esset expulsus et non tantum sibi, sed magis imperio cesaris hec iniuria esset illata. Et dicebat: In tanto tua quippe Hungaria, tuum regnum, in quo me regem constituisti, me regnante optima regni illius tue maiestati gratanter offerebantur annuo censu et secundum mandatum tuum tibi serviebatur.⁶¹⁴ Nunc autem hec omnia tibi denegantur ab hiis, qui imperio tuo detrimenta machinantur. Quapropter venias in Hungariam et tuam ulciscaris iniuriam super hostes tuos et regnum tibi vendices!

127. Hiis igitur verbis imperator motus cum magno exercitu intravit Hungariam.⁶¹⁵ Alimentum vero ad usum sui exercitus habunde navigio ferebatur in Danubio. Cumque venisset imperator ad flumen Wag, Salomon acceptis tribus agminibus equitavit de Sempte super Nitriam. Exeuntes autem iuvenes conflagabant secum, nunc hiis nunc illis fugientibus et diu sine vulnere certantibus. Opus miles [90] electus ex milibus sedens super dextrarium suum irruit super portam civitatis et unum de pugnantibus fulminavit. Nitrienses vero de morte socii sui turbati acriter ingemebant, in Opus iaculantes lanceas dextrarium eius interfecerunt. Ipse autem fortiter eis resistens illesus evasit. Inde ergo revertentes Theutonici narrabant imperatori audaciam Opus et incredibilem eius potentiam in prelio. Imperator autem accersito eo magnis eum laudibus commendavit et verbis dulcibus gratificavit. Quesivitque a Salomone, si apud Geysam et Ladizlaum essent multi tam boni milites. Salomon autem intendens laudare Hungaros inpremeditate respondit: Multi sunt, inquit, etiam multo meliores. Cui imperator: Si ita est, talibus militibus repugnantibus non recuperabis regnum.

⁶¹⁴ Nothing is known of Hungary's tribute or any other "service" to the Empire.

⁶¹⁵ In August 1074.

of aid to him in returning to Hungary. But although the emperor gave him money in abundance to hire soldiers, neither the Germans nor the Latins would engage themselves in his service for fear of the Hungarians. The king complained to the emperor concerning the loss of the kingdom, saying that his violent expulsion from his kingdom was an injury inflicted not only on him, but even more on the emperor and the empire. He said: "Inasmuch as it was you who established me as king, Hungary is yours, your kingdom; and while I reigned, the wealth of the kingdom was willingly offered to your majesty in annual tribute and all due service was rendered to you."⁶¹⁴ Now all these things are denied to you by those who plot harm to your empire. Therefore come to Hungary and take vengeance on your enemies for the injury done to you and claim the kingdom for yourself."

127. The emperor was roused by these words, and he entered Hungary with a great army.⁶¹⁵ Ample provisions for his army were brought by ship down the Danube. When the emperor came to the river Váh, Solomon with three detachments rode from Šintava towards Nitra. Young men came out against him, and for a long time they strove against each other, now the one side yielding ground and now the other, but none was wounded. Seated upon his horse, Opos, who was a warrior among thousands, charged up to the gate of the city and struck down one of the combatants as if with a lightning stroke. The men of Nitra bitterly bewailed the death of their comrade, and hurling their spears at Opos, they killed his horse; but he strongly resisted them and escaped unhurt. Returning thence, the Germans related to the emperor how great was the daring of Opos and how unbelievable his prowess in battle. The emperor received him into his presence and commended him and praised him highly, and spoke to him sweet and pleasant words. He inquired of Solomon whether Géza and Ladislav had many such good warriors. Meaning to praise the Hungarians, Solomon answered without thinking. "There are many, and even far better." To which the emperor replied: "If that is so, against such warriors you will not win back your kingdom."

128. Rex autem Geysa audiens imperatorem pervenisse Vaciā prudenti usus consilio iussit attemptare et demulcere patriarcham Aquilegiensem,⁶¹⁶ cuius consiliis imperator plurimum ascoltabat, simul etiam omnes duces Theutonicorum, promittens eis multam pecuniam, si imperatorem reverti facerent. Patriarcha igitur et duces muneribus illecti et auri amore capti satagebant variis figmentis inducere imperatorem, ut reverteretur. Patriarcha enim finxit se vidisse sompnium, cuius coniectura manifestissime <cognovit> totum exercitum imperatoris divina ultione periturum, nisi quam citius reverteretur. Sed et duces finxerunt similiter se divinitus a<mm>onitos^a conquerebanturque imperatori nescio quid opina<t>i^b mali imminere, si non cito reverterentur. Sequenti vero nocte duces Theutonicorum instruxerunt quosdam astutos milites suos, ut ipsi vociferando et clipeos suos alternatim percutiendo seditionem ortam in exercitu simularent. Quod cum fecissent milites, magnus horror irruit super imperatorem et universum exercitum excogitate fraudis et simulationis inscium. Factus est itaque tota nocte illa tumultus magnus in castris. Mane autem facto convocavit imperator patriarcham et duces in consilium, ut deliberarent, quidnam [91]esset agendum. Patriarcha ergo et duces pecunia corrupti modis omnibus consuluerunt ei, ut reverteretur. Cesar autem ingeniis deceptus simulans se Salomoni in posterum auxiliaturum, destructis navibus in Theutoniam est reversus.⁶¹⁷

129. FUGIT SALOMON

⁶¹⁸At rex Salomon spe fraudatus, gemebundus ac mestus collegit se in Poson. *Confortatumque est regnum in manu* ⁶¹⁹Geyse regis, et ex

^a a<mm>onitos *var. Ms*] attonitos *Ms*

^b opina<t>i] opinari *Ms*

⁶¹⁶ Sig(i)hard was patriarch 1068–1077.

⁶¹⁷ The emperor really left Hungary, and arrived at Worms on 29 September 1074.

⁶¹⁸ Hist. in: A knight with red and silver striped shield (Solomon?) riding out of the picture (right), pursued by a group of knights led by a haloed knight with double-cross shield (Ladislas), a golden angel with stretched-out sword hovering above him; in the background warriors observe the scene from the battlements of a castle.

128. King Géza, hearing that the emperor had proceeded as far as Vác, following prudent counsel gave instructions to approach and win over the patriarch of Aquileia,⁶¹⁶ to whose counsels the emperor most readily listened, and also all the German dukes, promising them much money if they would make the emperor turn back. The patriarch, therefore, and the dukes, seduced by the gifts and possessed with love of gold, invented various figments to induce the emperor to turn back. The patriarch for example pretended that he had had a dream whose interpretation most plainly was that the emperor's army would be wholly destroyed by divine vengeance unless he returned with the utmost speed. The dukes pretended likewise to be awestricken by divine warnings, and they made complaint to the emperor that I know not what unimaginable evil threatened unless they returned. In the following night the German dukes instructed some cunning fellows among their warriors that by loud shouting and striking of their shields against each other they should make it appear that mutiny had broken out in the army. The warriors did so and the emperor and the whole army, being ignorant that this was a trick and deceit, were seized with great terror. The turmoil in the camp continued all through the night. In the morning the emperor summoned the patriarch and the dukes to deliberate what should be done. Corrupted by money, the patriarch and the dukes used every means to persuade him to return. The emperor was deceived by their cleverness; pretending to Solomon that he would help him at a later time, and destroyed his ships and returned to Germany.⁶¹⁷

129. SOLOMON FLEES

⁶¹⁸Deceived in his hopes, King Solomon withdrew, bewailing and sorrowing, to Pressburg. The *kingdom was established in the hand of*⁶¹⁹ King Géza, who from this time was called King Mag-

⁶¹⁹ 3 Kings 3: 1, pun on 'the hands of Solomon.'

eo tempore vocatus est Magnus rex.⁶²⁰ Ducatumque dedit fratri suo Ladizlao. Dux autem Ladizlaus obsedit castrum Poson multis diebus. Milites vero Salomonis de castro exiebant et cum militibus Ladizlai decertabant. Salomon autem et Ladizlaus aliquando exiebant signa sua cambientes et velut milites pugnabant. Contigit autem, ut Ladizlaus in meridionali silentio ad castrum veniret. Vidit autem Salomon venientem, mutatis armis ignorabiliter exivit ad eum, sed nec eum Ladizlaus agnoscebat. Milites vero Salomonis super castra sedentes illos aspiciebant, putabatque Salomon illum esse servientem⁶²¹ et propterea iverat decertare cum illo. Statimque cum ad eum venisset et faciem eius respexisset, vidit duos angelos super caput ipsius Ladizlai igneo gladio volantes et inimicos eius minantes. Quo viso Salomon fugit in castrum. Cui milites sui dixerunt: Domine, quid est hoc, quod vidimus? Numquam te a duobus vel a tribus fugere vidimus. Quid ergo nunc? Quibus ipse dixit: Noveritis, quod homines non fugissem, sed iste non est homo, quia protegunt eum igneo gladio. Quo audito mirabantur. Unde ipsum magis timere ceperunt.⁶²²

130. Milites vero eiusdem Salomonis necessitate conpellente ad Ladizlaum veniebant, ipse vero [92] eos ducali liber<ali>tate et benignissima largitate refovebat, et ad dominum suum reverti libere permittebat. Rex autem Magnus eo tempore Natale Domini in Zugzard celebravit. Quo petente archiepiscopus Desiderius sollempnem missam celebravit⁶²³ et sermone lucidissimo animum regis delinivit et ad bonum pacis inclinavit. Celebrataque missa omnibus rite peractis precepit rex, ut omnes egrederentur preter episcopos et abbates. Tunc rex cum lacrimis prostratus est archiepiscopo et aliis ecclesiasticis personis seu prelatiis. Dicebat se pec-

⁶²⁰ See above, ch. 124, n. 598 on p. 230.

⁶²¹ The Latin word *serviens*, used here, has its long history. *Servientes* (*regis*) were freemen, who gradually in the thirteenth century came to be called *nobiles*. But *serviens* had also the meaning of retainer, a lesser freeman or noble in the service of another.

⁶²² The vision of an angel as a terrifying motif appeared in the description of Attila and the pope, above ch. 17 (pp. 48–9). These two metaphysical episodes may have influenced each other in some way. The literary topos can be traced back as far as

nus.⁶²⁰ He gave the duchy to his brother Ladislas. For many days, Duke Ladislas besieged the castle of Pressburg, and Solomon's warriors sallied forth and fought the warriors of Ladislas. Sometimes also Solomon and Ladislas laid aside their own coats of arms and came out to fight like other warriors. It happened that in the silence of noon Ladislas came to the castle, and Solomon saw him. He went out against him, not knowing who he was in his changed armor, nor did Ladislas recognize him. Solomon's warriors watched them from the battlements, and Solomon thought that the other was a common warrior;⁶²¹ and therefore he had gone out to do battle with him. But as soon as he had come up to him and saw his face, he beheld two angels with a fiery sword flying above the head of Ladislas and menacing his enemies. At this sight Solomon fled into the castle. His warriors said to him: "Sire, what is this that we have seen? Never did we see you flee from two, nay, nor from three. Then why now?" He said to them: "You know well that I would not have fled from men, but he is no man, for they protect him with a fiery sword." Hearing this, they marveled; and they began to feel greater fear of him.⁶²²

130. Under the pressure of need Solomon's warriors would come to Ladislas, who showed them great kindness and treated them with the generosity of his ducal rank, and freely permitted them to return to their lord. King Magnus at that time celebrated Christmas at Szekszárd. At his request, Archbishop Desiderius celebrated a solemn Mass,⁶²³ and by a most lucid sermon he moved the king's mind and inclined his heart to the goodness of peace. When the Mass had been celebrated and all observances had been duly performed, the king instructed that all should leave except the

the history of Alexander the Great and the *Historia Romana* of Paul the Deacon and it appears also in the legend of St. Wenceslas, see Andreas Fingernagel, *Wenzel von Böhmen, Heiliger und Herrscher*, p. 34 (Vienna: ÖNB, 2009).

⁶²³ Desiderius, archbishop of Kalocsa 1064–90, cf. also ch. 97. It was a Christmas between 1074–76.

casce, quia regnum legitime coronati regis occupaverat, promissique regnum redditurum Salomoni cum pace firma hoc modo, quod ipse coronam iure teneret cum tertia tamen parte regni, que ducatus appropriata erat. Salomon quoque duas partes regni coronatus teneret, quas prius detinebat. Episcopi ergo letas Deo gratias egerunt, quia regem Spiritus Sancti gratia visitatione conpunctum et illustratum esse videbant.⁶²⁴ Tunc rex Magnus missis nunciis ad regem Salomonem explicavit ei per litteras modum pacis pretaxatum. In<ter>currentibus itaque nunciis et super hac re diversis diversa sentientibus consumptio reconciliationis effectum sortiri non potuit. Interea rex Magnus in gravem egritudinem incidit, et VII-o Kalendas Maii viam carnis universe virtutibus adornatus est ingressus.⁶²⁵ Erat enim fide catholicus, Deo devotissimus et princeps Christianissimus. Regnavit autem tribus annis et Vacie tumultatur in ecclesia Beate Virginis, quam ipse construxit. In primo etiam anno regni sui validissima fames regnum Hungarie afflixit.

131. SANCTUS LADIZLAUS CORONATUR IN REGEM⁶²⁶



⁶²⁷[93] Audita vero morte regis Magni convenit universa multitudo nobilium Hungarie ad fratrem eius Ladizlaum, et eum communi consensu, parili voto et consona voluntate ad suscipiendum regni gubernaculum concorditer elegerunt, ymo vere magis affectuosissimis et

⁶²⁴ The presentation of this episode, intended to restore the balance between the "legitivist" and "idoneist" view of succession must have been added quite some time later (see ch. 131, p. 245 and ch. 133, p. 247)

bishop and the abbots. Then the king prostrated himself with tears before the archbishop and the other clergy and prelates. He said that he had sinned because he had possessed himself of the kingdom of a lawfully crowned king; and he promised that he would restore the kingdom to Solomon with a firm peace between them: He would lawfully keep the crown with that third part of the kingdom that belongs to the duchy; while the crowned Solomon would hold the two parts of the kingdom which he had held before. Thereupon the bishops gave joyful thanks to God because they saw that by the presence of the grace of the Holy Spirit the king repented and was illuminated.⁶²⁴ Then King Magnus sent messengers to King Solomon with letters setting forth the terms of peace. Messengers passed to and fro, but feelings on this side and that were at variance, and so the reconciliation found no consummation. Meanwhile King Magnus fell gravely ill, and on April 25, adorned with virtues, he went the way of all flesh.⁶²⁵ He was most devoted to God, the Catholic faith, and he was a most Christian prince. He reigned three years, and he is buried at Vác in the church of the Blessed Virgin which he himself built. In the first year of his reign a very severe famine afflicted the kingdom of Hungary.

131. ST. LADISLAS IS CROWNED KING⁶²⁶

⁶²⁷At the news of King Magnus' death all the nobility of Hungary came to his brother Ladislas, and by common consent, equal desire, and unanimous will they chose him to undertake the gov-

and Kornél Szovák, "The image of the ideal king in twelfth-century Hungary (remarks on the legend of St. Ladislas)" in: *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, Anne J. Duggan, ed., pp. 241–264 (London: King's College, 1993) repr. in *Studies*, pp. 159–80.

⁶²⁵ He died on 25 April 1077. See Gen 6: 13; 1 Kings 2: 2 etc.

⁶²⁶ The following chapters have much in common with the *Vita S Ladislai Regis* (SRH 2: pp. 507–28); it is, however a matter of debate whether the Life or the chronicle passage was the primary text. For an English trans. see Cristian Gașpar in: CEMT 7).

⁶²⁷ Inh. in.: Full figure of crowned knight with halo, displaying double-cross crest, holding orb and battle axe, girded with sword (Ladislas).

instantissimis precibus compulerunt.⁶²⁸ Omnes enim noverant ipsum esse *vestitum consumatione virtutum*,⁶²⁹ fide catholicum, pietate precipuum, largitate munificum, caritate conspicuum. Emicuit quippe *quasi stella matutina in medio nebule*, fugans tedia tenebrarum, *et quasi luna plena lucet in diebus suis*, velut etiam *sol refulgens, sic effulsit* in populo suo, *quasi adeps separatus a carne*. Et *cum leonibus et ursis*^a *lusit, quasi cum agnis ovium*. Numquid *non occidit gygantem et abstulit obprobrium* ex Israel? *Convertit enim inimicos suos undique et exstirpavit* adversarios.⁶³⁰ Erat enim Magnus secundum nomen suum maximum. Nam si ethymologie nominis eius alludamus, Ladizlaus, quasi laus divinitus data populo dicitur. Laos enim populus interpretatur, dosis autem dans vel datio sive datum. Prima enim sillaba nominis eius laus est per paragogen.⁶³¹ Et quamvis ipsum Hungari in regem absque voluntate sua elegerunt, numquam tamen in capite suo coronam posuit, propter quod potius celestem coronam optabat, quam terrenam et vivi regis coronam. Sed usque legitime coronari et coronam habere noluit in eius animo, ut si firma pax inter eos esse posset, regnum Salomoni redderet et ipse ducatum haberet.⁶³² Postquam autem divina dispensatione regni gubernacula suscepit, non mundanam gloriam caducam et transitoriam, sed celestem patriam et divinam gloriam toto cordis affectu promereri studuit.⁶³³ Semper enim timorem Domini pre oculis habuit in omnibus iudiciis suis⁶³⁴ et maxime in causis [94] criminalibus, ubi ultio sive pena sanguinis irrogatur. Divina quidem inspiratione illustratus sciebat, quod rex non tam

^a ursis] ursibus *Ms*

⁶²⁸ This sentence was influenced directly by a letter of Pope Gregory VII in 1081 (Reg 7.21), indirectly by the theory of the "reluctant king," based among others on the *Regula pastoralis* of Gregory the Great (ch. 9) and Cod. Iust. 1.3.30; see also Björn Weiler, "The 'rex renitens' and the Medieval Ideal of Kingship, ca. 900-ca. 1250," *Viator* 31 (2000), pp. 1–42.

⁶²⁹ Sir 50: 11.

⁶³⁰ Virtues referring to Simeon and David, Ecclus 50: 6–7 and 47: 4 and 8; cf. also Gen 30: 23.

⁶³¹ This Pseudo-Greek etymology comes from the legend of St. Ladislav as a few other borrowings in this chapter; (see SRH 2: pp. 519, 516). In fact, László

ernment of the kingdom, nay, they compelled him thereto by their most loving and insistent prayers.⁶²⁸ For they all knew him to be *clothed in the perfection of virtues*,⁶²⁹ Catholic by faith, pre-eminent in piety, munificent in his generosity, conspicuous in charity. *He shone as the morning star in the midst of a cloud*, putting to flight the sorrows of darkness; *and like the brightness of the moon at the full*, or *like the shining of the sun*, so he shone among his people, or *as the fat taken away from the flesh*; and *he played with lions and bears as with lambs*. *Did he not kill the giant and take away reproach from Israel? For he destroyed his enemies on every side and extirpated his adversaries*.⁶³⁰ He was great, as the name he bore was the greatest. For if we consider its etymology, the meaning of his name “Ladislás” is “renown given by God to the people”. For *laos* is interpreted as “people,” and *dosis* as “giving” or “gift,” and the first syllable of his name is, with addition, *laus* [praise].⁶³¹ Although the Hungarians chose him against his will as king, he never placed the crown upon his head, for he desired a heavenly crown rather than the earthly one of a king alive. To be lawfully crowned and to bear the crown upon his head was not in his mind; rather he would restore the kingdom to Solomon and himself have the duchy, if peace could thereby be established between them.⁶³² After he had assumed by divine dispensation the governance of the kingdom, with all the desire of his heart he strove to win, not the worldly glory which fades and passes away, but a heavenly country and divine glory.⁶³³ The fear of God was always before his eyes in all his judgments⁶³⁴ and especially in cases of crimes where taking life as retribution or punishment was called for. Because he was

(Ladislás/Ladislaus) is the Hungarian variant of the Slavic name Wladislaw/Vladislav &c.

⁶²⁸ Another “legitimist” insert, as above, ch. 130 (pp. 240–3) and below, ch. 133 (pp. 246–9).

⁶²⁹ Cf. the letter of Pope Gregory VII to Adelheid, queen of King Ladislás, 1081 (Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Regesta*, Nr. 5202, p. 639; cf. Cowdrey, *Register* 8.22, p. 396)

⁶³⁴ Cf. *De rectoribus Christianis* cap II by Sedulius Scottus (MPL 103: col. 296); On Christian Rulers, R. W. Dyson, ed., trans., pp. 60–1 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2010).

regat, quam regatur. Unde in omnibus iudiciis suis mitigata legum severitate semper utebatur misericordie lenitate.⁶³⁵ Erat enim consolator afflictorum, sublevator oppressorum, pius pater orphanorum.⁶³⁶ A cunctis enim regnicolis mutato proprio nomine pius rex vocabatur. Qui etiam victor honoratus inclitus augustus extitit, non tam nominum proprietate, quam rerum veritate adauxit enim rem publicam Hungarie.

132. Ipse prius Dalmaciam atque Croatiam sue monarchie iure perpetuo subiugavit. Cum enim rex Zolomerus sine liberis decessisset, uxor eius, soror regis Ladizlai ab inimicis viri sui multis iniuriis pregravata auxilium fratris sui, regis Ladizlai in nomine Iesu Christi imploravit.⁶³⁷ Cuius iniurias rex graviter vindicavit et Croatiam atque Dalmaciam integraliter sibi restituit. Quam postea a predicta regina suo subdidit dominio. Quod tamen rex non fecit propter cupiditatem, sed quia secundum regalem iustitiam sibi conpetebat hereditas.⁶³⁸ Quoniam quidem rex Zolomerus in primo gradu affinitatis eidem at<t>inebat et heredem non habuit.

133. Porro Salomon erat in Poson. Reverentissimi autem episcopi laborabant pacificare eos. Rex autem Ladizlaus, quamvis sciret Salomonem nimis esse trucem et inpacibilem, victus tamen pietate et maxime iustitia compellente, quia ius legitimum Ladizlaus non habebat contra eum, sed omnia ex facto fecit, non de iure, quarto anno regni sui pacificatus est cum Salomone,⁶³⁹ donans ei stipendia ad regales expensas sufficientia. Optimates autem regni futura pericula bellice cladis caute precavescentes non patiebantur regnum

⁶³⁵ Cf. Pseudo-Augustin, *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. Questio 15, CSEL 33, p. 42.

⁶³⁶ This rhymed prose formulation occurs in many coronation *ordines*. See also the Life of St. Ladislav ch. 3 (SRH 2: p. 517, cf. CEMT 7).

⁶³⁷ Zvonimir died in 1089, his widow, the sister of King Ladislav, Helen (Lijepa) reigned 1089–91; Ladislav occupied Croatia in 1091, but it was Coloman who conquered Dalmatia, Ladislav never reached the Adriatic coast. Ladislav appointed his nephew Álmos as king of Croatia, but the year is not recorded.

enlightened by divine inspiration, he knew that a king does not rule, but rather is ruled. Therefore in all his judgments he tempered the severity of the laws with the gentleness of mercy.⁶³⁵ He consoled the afflicted, he raised up the oppressed, he was a loving father to the orphans.⁶³⁶ All of his subjects called him, instead by his own name, the pious king. Not in word and name, but in truth and deed was he victorious and honored, famous and august; for he augmented the state of Hungary.

132. He first made Dalmatia and Croatia subject in perpetuity to his monarchy. For when King Zvonimir died childless, his wife, the sister of King Ladislav, suffered many wrongs at the hands of her husband's enemies, and she implored help in the name of Jesus Christ from her brother, King Ladislav.⁶³⁷ The king took heavy vengeance for her wrongs, and restored to her the whole territory of Croatia and Dalmatia, which then with her consent he placed under his dominion. The king did not act thus out of greed, but because according to the rights of royalty the inheritance fell to him.⁶³⁸ For King Zvonimir stood to him in the first degree of affinity, and had no heir.

133. Solomon was at Pressburg, and the most reverend bishops strove to make peace between him and Ladislav. Although he knew Solomon to be violent and quarrelsome, in the fourth year of his reign, King Ladislav, driven by piety and especially by justice—since Ladislav had no legitimate right against Solomon but acted *de facto* rather than *de jure*—made peace with Solomon,⁶³⁹ giving him revenues sufficient for the expenses of a king. The great men of the realm, however, prudently guarding against future dangers of disastrous war, did not permit that the kingdom should be divided with Solomon, lest there should be *newer evils*

⁶³⁸ Other manuscripts have *legalem iustitiam*, i.e. legitimate right, which makes better sense. The disclaimer of this sentence is another topic of the "reluctant king" (see above n. 628 on p. 244).

⁶³⁹ Dated 1081.

partiri cum Salomone, ne *novissima* fierent *peiora prioribus*.⁶⁴⁰ Salomonis autem *cauteriatam conscientiam*⁶⁴¹ preconcepte iracundie amaritudo laniabat. Cepit itaque fre<me>bundus^a estuanti animo machinari dolos in perniciem innoxii sanguinis Ladizlai. Sed *incidit in foveam, quam fecit*.⁶⁴² Eodem etiam anno crux Domini, que Albe constituta fuerat, percussa est a fulgure.⁶⁴³ Rex autem [95] Ladizlaus deprehenso flagitio cepit Salomonem et in Vyssegrad retrusit in carcerem.⁶⁴⁴ Erat autem apud Salomonem Bodus filius Bokon in carcere. Hoc autem non causa timoris fecit, sed pro consanguineitate regis, qui semper minabatur facere *peiora prioribus*,⁶⁴⁵ et ut furor illius paululum temperaretur. Ipse enim assidue pro Salomone orabat, ut ad legem Dei converteretur. Si vero Salomon conversus fuisset, veraciter regnum plenarie sibi restituisset, ipse ducatum sibi elegisset. Et quamvis Salomon in carcere fuisset, Ladizlaus multo magis ei condolebat.

134. Sed postmodum Salomon rex dimissus de carcere in elevatione corporis sancti regis Stephani et Beati Emerici confessoris⁶⁴⁶ astitit regi paucis diebus, et tandem fugiens adiit ducem Cunorum,⁶⁴⁷ qui vocabatur Kutesk. Cui iuravit, quod Transilvaniam provinciam proprietario <iure> sibi traderet et filiam eius in uxorem acciperet, si ille in auxilium eius super Ladizlaum veniret. Dux autem Kutesk inani spe seductus cum magna multitudine Cunorum invadens Hungariam, devenit usque in provinciam castrorum Ung et Borsua.⁶⁴⁸ Quo audito rex Ladizlaus irruit super eos et contriti sunt *a facie eius, cecideruntque in ore gladii* multa milia Cunorum. Rex au-

^a fre<me>bundus] ferebundus *Ms*

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. Mt 12: 45; Lk 11: 26 for this phrase cf. also Isidore, *Sententiae* 2.13 and Jerome, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1,32.

⁶⁴¹ 1Tim 4: 2.

⁶⁴² Ps 7:16.

⁶⁴³ Mentioned also in the Annals of Pressburg for the year 1081 (SRH 1: p. 126), without mentioning Fehérvár.

⁶⁴⁴ There is a medieval keep in Visegrád which according to popular belief served as a prison of Solomon (called till now "Solomon's tower"), but in fact it was built much later.

*worse than the old.*⁶⁴⁰ But the bitterness of old anger *seared* Solomon's tortured *mind*.⁶⁴¹ In seething and trembling resentment he began to contrive plots to shed Ladislás's innocent blood. But he *fell into the hole he made*.⁶⁴² In the same year the cross of the Lord, which had been set up at Fehérvár, was struck by lightning.⁶⁴³ Solomon's criminal intentions were exposed, and King Ladislás took him and shut him up in the prison at Visegrád.⁶⁴⁴ With Solomon was also imprisoned Bodus, the son of Bokon. He did not do this out of fear, but because of the blood relationship between him and Solomon, who always threatened to do *worse things than before*,⁶⁴⁵ and because he wished his fury to cool a little. He however constantly prayed for Solomon that he might be converted to the law of God. If Solomon had indeed been converted, Ladislás would faithfully have made full restitution of the kingdom to him, and chose the duchy. And although Solomon was in prison, Ladislás suffered for him the greater pain.

134. But after King Solomon had been released from prison on the occasion of the canonization of King St. Stephen and the blessed Emeric the confessor,⁶⁴⁶ he remained with the king for a few days, but then fled from him to the duke of the Cumans,⁶⁴⁷ whose name was Kutesk. He swore to him that if came to his help against Ladislás, he would grant him the province of Transylvania as property and take his daughter as wife. Tempted by this vain hope, Duke Kutesk invaded Hungary with a great multitude of the Cumans, penetrating as far as the county of the castles of Uz and Borsova.⁶⁴⁸ When he heard this news, King Ladislás attacked them, and they were swept away *before his face*, and many

⁶⁴⁵ Mt 12: 45 &c. as above.

⁶⁴⁶ The first canonizations in Hungary, initiated by King Ladislás in 1083; see Klaničay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 114–46.

⁶⁴⁷ For the Cumans cf. ch. 102; these events are dated to 1085.

⁶⁴⁸ A castle stood at the confluence of the rivers Tisza and Borsova; its memory survived in the place name Vari (Ukr) that is "of castle." This is the earliest reference to it. The event is being dated to 1085.

tem Salomon cum Kutesk, sicut anates avulsis pennis ab unguibus austuris fugientes, evaserunt. Rex itaque Ladizlaus tulit spolia eorum et *in ympnis et confessionibus benedicebant* Deum, *qui dedit eis gloriosam victoriam*.⁶⁴⁹ Fecit autem construi ibidem ecclesiam ad honorem Dei omnipotentis ob memoriam victoriae, quam ibi adiutorio Dei obtinuerunt.⁶⁵⁰ At rex Salomon cum latrunculis Cunorum invasis Bulgariam et confinia Grece, ubi ab exercitu imperatoris Grece miserabiliter sunt percussi,⁶⁵¹ e quibus pauci valde evaserunt.

135. Cum enim vidissent Cuni magnam multitudinem loricorum, timuerunt valde, ceperuntque festinare, ut transirent Danubium priusquam ab hostibus concluderentur. Qui ergo loricas non habebant, celerius pre levitate precedebant.⁶⁵² Salomon autem et sui atque alii loricati armorum pondere prepe[96]diti precedentes socios tardius sequebantur, et yems erat ningebatque densissime, repleverantque nives oculos eorum, et preoccupante nivium densitate non poterant videre socios suos, qui precesserant. Errantes itaque ferebantur per inania. Sed et hostes persequabantur eos cominus. Cumque devenissent ad quoddam castrum desertum et vacuum, intraverunt illuc et tota die et nocte ibidem manserunt. Hostes autem circumdederunt castrum undique. Obsessi vero videntes se periculo famis perire, elegerunt magis pugnando mori, quam fame perimi. Summo itaque diluculo exierunt in hostes et simul cum interfectoribus suis interierunt, et quamplures ex eis occidebantur, qui eos interficiebant.

136. Rex autem Salomon fugiens cum paucis vix evasit et facili cursu transivit Danubium, quia glaciatus erat. Cumque venisset ad quoddam nemus magnum, dixit suis, ut pro recreandis equis pau-

⁶⁴⁹ 2 Macc 10: 38.

⁶⁵⁰ Perhaps the church of St. Peter in Kisvárdá, though the localization is not without problems.

⁶⁵¹ The emperor was Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). Anna Komnena (*Alexiad* VII, 1, cf. transl. E. R. A. Sewter, p. 217, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969) mentioned Solomon as leading a contingent in Tzelgu's army attacking northern Byzantium, and Bernold of Constance (MGH SSrG NS 14, p. 466) records his death in a battle with the Greeks in 1087.

thousands of the Cumans fell beneath *the edge of the sword*. Fleeing like ducks with torn feathers before the claws of the hawk, King Solomon and Kutesk made good their escape. King Ladislás despoiled the enemy, and in *hymns and thanksgiving* they blessed God *who had given* them this glorious *victory*.⁶⁴⁹ He also caused a church to be built there in honor of the almighty God and in commemoration of the great victory won with God's help.⁶⁵⁰ But King Solomon with the pillaging Cumans invaded Bulgaria and the borders of Greece, where they were ignominiously routed by the army of the emperor of the Greeks,⁶⁵¹ and only very few escaped.

135. When the Cumans saw the great multitude of men in armor, they were sore afraid and began to hasten to cross the Danube before they should be surrounded by the enemy. Those who did not wear breastplates made speedier progress, being burdened with less weight.⁶⁵² Solomon and his men and others, impeded by their heavy armor, lagged behind their comrades. It was winter, and it was snowing very heavily; and because the thick snow was in their eyes, overwhelmed by the thickness of the snow, they could not see their comrades who had gone ahead. Thus they wandered about lost in the empty spaces, but the enemy still pursued them. When they came to an empty and deserted castle, they entered it and remained there for a whole day and night. But the enemy surrounded the castle on all sides, and seeing themselves menaced with starvation they decided rather to die fighting than to perish from hunger. Therefore at the earliest dawn they went out against the enemy, and died with them a common death, many of their slayers being themselves slain.

136. King Solomon with a few others hardly escaped and was able to cross the Danube without difficulty, since it was frozen. They came to a great wood, and he said to his men that they

⁶⁵² The problem of heavy armament was widely discussed by chroniclers, cf. *GpP* 1.25, pp. 92–3.

lulum pausarent. Ipse^a vero deposito scuto finxit se confestim reversurum, et abiit in opacas partes silvarum, suis nichil tale opinantibus absentavit se ab illis, nec umquam ultra conparuit.⁶⁵³ Fractus quippe tot adversis visitatus a Spiritu Salutari, qui ex ipsis adversis non est effectus durior, nec contra iustissimam Dei veritatem libero pugnans arbitrio, sed manum misericordissime corripientis Dei sentiens in recordatione commissorum ingemuit. Et quantum iuste humanitatis arbitrato pensari potest, cum cordis contritione et satisfactione de peccatis suis penituit.⁶⁵⁴ Vere *felix necessitas, que compellit ad meliora, nam revera necesse est, ut quem mundus odit, diligatur a Deo.*⁶⁵⁵ En nobile corpus regis Salomonis regalibus deliciis educatum iacet in pulvere et cinere fatigatum. Et qui prius pugnabat pro temporalibus, nunc solum intendit celestibus. Totum enim tempus vite sue in peregrinatione et oratione, in ieiuniis et vigiliis in laboribus et obsecrationibus consumavit. Visus est etiam semel in Hungaria tempore regis Colomani, sed statim <delituit>^b, nec umquam amplius conparuit. Migravit autem ex hoc seculo ad Dominum et sepultus [97] est Pole, in civitate Istri<e>^c.⁶⁵⁶ Uxor autem eius et mater in Agmund requiescunt.⁶⁵⁷

137. Post hec autem quidam de Cunis nomine Copulch, filius Krul cum valida manu intravit in Hungariam, ut debellaret.⁶⁵⁸ Qui Ultrasilvanum regnum depredavit et predam secum ducebat. Qui depopulata terra Transilvana transiens venit ad Byhor et circa flumen Umsoer aliquantis diebus permoratus est. Deinde tran-

^a *In margine manu XV saeculi* Notatur

^b <delituit>] dilicuit *Ms*

^c Istri<e>] Istria *Ms*

⁶⁵³ A similar story is told by Cosmas concerning the death of Svatopluk, *Chron.*, ch. 1.14 pp. 32–4; cf. Lisa Wolverton, trans. *Cosmas of Prague: The Cronicle of the Czechs*, pp. 63–4 (Washington DC: Catholic University Press 2009).

⁶⁵⁴ Widely used phrases, e.g. Gratian (2.23.4. 22 and 2.23.31.87) on the remission of sins.

⁶⁵⁵ Borrowed from St. Augustin ("Ad Armenatrium et Paulinum, Letter 17 MPL 33: col. 486; CSEL 44.28), and Isidore, *Sententiae* 3. 16 (MPL 83: col. 692, now ed. Pierre Cazier, CChSL 111, 244).

should halt for a while to rest their horses. He himself laid down his shield and went away into a dense part of the forest, pretending to his men that he would speedily return. So he left them, though they had no inkling, nor was he ever seen again.⁶⁵³ Broken by so many adversities, now he was visited by the spirit of salvation; for his heart was not hardened by these same adversities, nor did he choose by free will fight against God's justice and truth, but he felt God's hand laid upon him in utmost compassion, and he groaned at the memory of what he had done, and he repented his sins, so far as human understanding might judge, with a humble and contrite heart.⁶⁵⁴ *Blessed indeed is that necessity which compels to goodness: for in truth he whom the world hates is of necessity loved by God.*⁶⁵⁵ Behold, the noble frame of King Solomon, who had been reared in royal luxury, now lies spent in dust and ashes, and he who once fought for temporal things is now wholly bent upon matters heavenly. All the days of his life he now passed in pilgrimage and prayer, in fasts and vigils, in suffering and supplication. Once he was seen in Hungary in the time of King Coloman, but immediately he disappeared and was seen no more. He passed from this world to the Lord, and he is buried at Pula, a city in Istria.⁶⁵⁶ His wife and his mother rest at Admont.⁶⁵⁷

137. After these things, one of the Cumans, Kapolcs by name, son of Krul, entered Hungary with a strong force, intending to subdue it.⁶⁵⁸ He lay waste the country of Transylvania and took away booty. Having devastated this territory, he proceeded and reached Biharia and stayed for some days near the

⁶⁵⁶ A tombstone with his name was indeed found there (presently in the Arheološki muzej Istre, Pula) and there is evidence for his cult in Istria. However, some modern editors suggest the reading *Polonia* instead of Pula.

⁶⁵⁷ It is not clear who was buried in Admont. Solomon's wife, Judith, became the duchess of Poland, see above, ch 90, n. 457 on p. 172; her burial site is not known, neither is that of Solomon's mother, Anastasia of Kiev. Actually, a century later, Sophie, the daughter of King Béla II, was buried in the nunnery of Admont.

⁶⁵⁸ This campaign has been dated to the year 1091.

siens Tysciam in Thocoyd⁶⁵⁹ exercitum suum in tria agmina divisit. Duo agmina versus sabulum⁶⁶⁰ vastare proposuit. Unum vero circa Tysciam debellare dimisit. Debellantes vero et predantes venerunt in locum, qui dicitur Bechey, cum multitudine predarum et ad propria redire statuerunt. Qui dicebant: Venimus debellando, nunc revertamur venando. Tantam ergo predam de Hungaria habuerunt, quantam umquam aliaqua gens potuit habere. Uxores etiam et filios nobilium secum in captivitate ducebant. Rex autem Ladizlaus cum suis in Sclavonia fuerat.⁶⁶¹ Cumque in reversione sua hec omnia nunciassent, citius quam sciverat, reversus est et cum suis militibus celeriter post eos equitavit. Quos circa fluvium Temes invenit, et illi putantes se omnino esse liberatos, plus affectabant venationem, quam bellum. Rex autem Ladizlaus militibus suis dicebat: Utilius est mihi mori vobiscum, quam uxores vestras et filios videre in captivitate. Hec dicens lacrimabatur et primus vexillo rubeo impetum fecit in castra Cunorum. *Contrivitque Dominus* Cunos ante *faciem*⁶⁶² Hungarorum. Rex itaque Ladizlaus militibus suis clamabat: Non interficiamus homines istos, sed capiamus eos, et si conversi fuerint, vivant.⁶⁶³ Kopulch vero et meliores mortui sunt et alii quamplures capti sunt, et nemo ex eis evasit preter unum servientem nomine Escembu. Rex autem cum suis omnibus pro tanta victoria gratias egit omnipotenti Deo, qui eripuit eos de manibus hostium suorum, nominavitque fluvium Paganti, propter paganos usque in presentem diem. Hoc audientes Cuni de serviente illo, qui evaserat, valde contristati sunt, qui etiam coniurantes promiserunt se in[98]iuriam Kopulch vindicatu-
ros. Miseruntque ad regem nuncios et captivos dimittere preceperunt verbis superbis et contumeliosis, regem deriserunt et statuerunt diem in Hungariam intrandi. Cumque rex audisset, subrisit, et

⁶⁵⁹ Some historians suggest to read Kota ér, instead of Tokaj; cf. above ch. 117 (n. 564 on p. 217).

⁶⁶⁰ Homok that is "sand," perhaps referring to the Hungarian Plain between the rivers Danube and Tisza.

⁶⁶¹ Referring to his campaign in Slavonia (between the rivers Drava and Sava) in 1091.

⁶⁶² Here and below (pp. 256–7) Gen 8: 21.

river Omsóér. Then crossing the Tisza at Tokaj,⁶⁵⁹ he divided his army into three columns. Two of these columns were to lay waste the flat land of Homok,⁶⁶⁰ and the third he sent to wage battle along the Tisza. Fighting and pillaging, they came to a place which is called Becsej, and with their accumulated spoils they decided to return to their country, saying: "We came to fight, now let us return to hunt." They took with them out of Hungary such a great booty as no other nation ever had. They also carried away with them into captivity the wives and sons of nobles. King Ladislás was at that time in Slavonia with his men.⁶⁶¹ When on his way homewards all these things were told to him, he returned as fast as he could, and with his warriors he rode swiftly after them, and came upon them near the river Timiș. They thought themselves out of all danger, and their minds were more upon hunting than war. King Ladislás spoke to his warriors, saying: "I rather die with you than see your wives and children in captivity." He wept as he spoke these words, and then with his red standard he led the charge against the encampment of the Cumans. And *the Lord destroyed the Cumans before the face of the Hungarians*.⁶⁶² King Ladislás called out to his warriors: "Let us not kill these men but take them captive, and if they will be converted they shall live."⁶⁶³ Kapolcs and those of higher rank were killed and others were taken prisoner in great numbers; nor did any escape except a retainer, named Escembu. The king with all his men gave thanks for so great a victory to almighty God who had saved them out of the hands of their enemies, and because these were pagans he called the river Pogănișul, which name it bears until this day. When the Cumans received the news from the retainer who had escaped, they were sorely distressed, and they made a vow that they would avenge the wrong done to Kapolcs. They sent messengers to the king, demanding with proud and insulting words the return of the captives, they mocked the king, and set the day for their

⁶⁶³ A common, much debated problem in the age of the crusades was the treatment of Muslim war captives, see Peter Herde, "Christians and Saracens," *Studia Gratiana* 12 (1967), pp. 361–376.

diem quam in Hungariam venire proposuerant, rex prius obviam illis equitavit timens depopulationem Hungarie. Et quodam Sabato sumpmo mane prope Danubium impetum super Cunos fecit. In primo autem impetu rex ducem Kunorum nomine Akus percussit et Cusem, quem rex sibi infidelem putabat, in eadem die fideliter et viriliter servivit.⁶⁶⁴ *Contrivitque Dominus Kunos ante faciem* Hungarorum et rex cum victoria reversus est.

138. REX VADIT CONTRA RUTENOS



⁶⁶⁵Post hec autem rex gloriosus invasit Rusciam, eo quod Kuni per consilium eorum Hungariam intraverant.⁶⁶⁶ Cumque vidissent se Ruteni male coartari, rogaverunt regi clementiam, et promiserunt regi fidelitatem in omnibus. Quos rex piissimus graviter^a suscepit. Deinde irruit in Poloniam.⁶⁶⁷ Poloni vero contra

ipsum venientes pugnaverunt, sed Hungari adiuvante Deo victoriam habuerunt. Exinde Hungari castrum Korokou tribus mensibus obsederunt. Interim obsessi et obsidentes ceperunt egere. Rex autem et principes petierunt ab omnibus Hungaris noctis silentio, ut portaret unusquisque ocream solam de terra plenam, [99] quod et factum est. Fecerunt autem ante castrum montem magnum de terra illa, quam desuper cum farina coperuerunt.⁶⁶⁸ Videntes autem

^a graviter] *forse recte* gratanter *var. Mss.*

⁶⁶⁴ It has been suggested that the reference here is to that *Ispán Öze* whose death is recorded in ch. 145, below (pp. 268–9).

⁶⁶⁵ Ist. In.: Five warriors (right), two of whom pour brown-white substance into a heap from half pairs of tights observed by a crowned and haloed king with sword and shield with red and silver barry (Ladislas), left. In the background, castle (Cracow) with one warrior looking down from its battlement.

⁶⁶⁶ The campaign against Duke Vasilko of Galicia was in 1091/2.

entry into Hungary. When the king heard these words, he smiled, and on the day that they had proposed to enter Hungary he rode out to meet them, fearing the devastation of the country. Early on a Saturday morning he delivered an attack upon the Cumans near the Danube. In the first assault the king struck down a duke of the Cumans, named Ákos. Cusem whom the king believed disloyal, fought on that day like a brave and faithful warrior.⁶⁶⁴ *And the Lord destroyed the Cumans before the face of the Hungarians, and the king returned victorious.*

138. THE KING MARCHES AGAINST THE RUTHENIANS

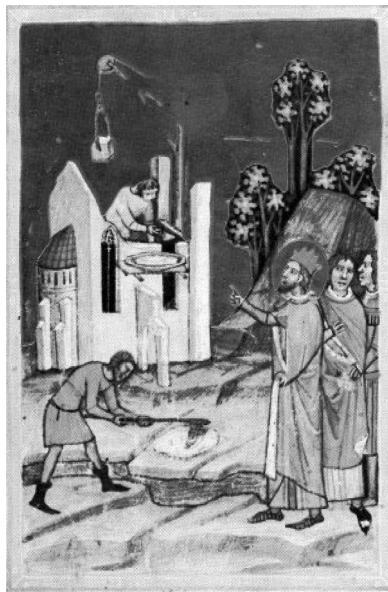
⁶⁶⁵After these things the glorious king invaded Rus', for it was by their advice that the Cumans had come into Hungary.⁶⁶⁶ When the Ruthenians saw that they were in an evil plight, they asked the king for mercy and promised that they would be faithful to him in all things. The most pious king gladly acceded to their request. Then he marched into Poland.⁶⁶⁷ The Poles met him in battle, but with the help of God the Hungarians gained the victory. Then for three months the Hungarians besieged the castle of Cracow until both the besieged and the besiegers began to suffer want. Then the king and the chief men instructed the Hungarians that in the silence of the night they should each bring one leggin filled with earth. This was done, and with the earth they made before the castle a great mound, which they covered with flour.⁶⁶⁸ Seeing that their besiegers had such abun-

⁶⁶⁷ In 1093, during the war of Władisław I. Herman and his son Zbigniew, the Hungarians attacked Wrocław. Cf. *GpP* III. 4 p. 127; see Ryszard Grzesik, "The Hungarian Expedition to Poland in 1093 in the Hungarian and Polish Chronicles," in: Erik Kooper, ed., *The Medieval Chronicle* vol. 6, pp. 205–215 (Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi, 2009).

⁶⁶⁸ This stratagem is well known from European folk tales, see Stith Thompson. *Motif-index of folk-literature : a classification of narrative elements in folktales, ballads, myths, fables, medieval romances, exempla, fabliaux, jest-books, and local legends*. K2365.1. K2365.1 (rev. ed. Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1955–1958). Already mentioned by Herodotos (I, 22).

obsessi, quia obsidentes habundarent victualibus, et quod diu possent manere ante castrum, arcem cum universis regi reddiderunt, et pacem ad voluntatem regis ordinarunt seu composuerunt. At inde transivit in Bohemiam et multos captivos de Bohemis duxerunt inpune in Hungariam.⁶⁶⁹ Et sic rex victoriosissimus ad propria rediit cum gaudio.

139. DE CONSTRUCTIONE WARADIENSIS ECCLESIE ET DE MORTE REGIS LADIZLAI



⁶⁷⁰Post hec in parochia castri Bihor inter flumen Keres in venatione sua invenit locum, ubi angelico amonitu proposuit constituere monasterium in honore Virginis Marie, quem locum Varad nominavit.⁶⁷¹ At rex Ladizlaus in ampliora semper se extendens et *de virtute in virtutem*⁶⁷² proficiens, non solum in Hungaria, sed in omnia regna Christianitatis sue respersit *suavitatis odorem*.⁶⁷³ Unde mortuo Romanorum imperatore duces et tetrarche⁶⁷⁴ Theutonicorum cunctique barones et optimates

communiter et concorditer rogaverunt ipsum, ut susciperet imperium.⁶⁷⁵ Quia vero tempore suo non solum sua, sed que Iesu Christi sunt,⁶⁷⁶ querebat et illud divinum [100] oraculum mente sedula

⁶⁶⁹ Dated 1095.

⁶⁷⁰ Hist. in.: Crowned king with halo (Ladislaus) with two attendants receives a sealed letter from a person, two others observing. It seems to refer to the invitation to the Empire, but the text has no reference to a letter.

dance of provisions and could remain for a long time before the castle, the besieged surrendered the citadel to the king with all that was in it, and peace was made and the terms drawn up as the king willed. Thence he crossed into Bohemia, and carried unpunished many Czechs away captive into Hungary.⁶⁶⁹ Thus the king returned home with joy, rich in victories.

139. THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH OF ORADEA AND THE DEATH OF KING LADISLAS

⁶⁷⁰After this, as he was hunting in the county of the castle of Bihar on the river Criș, he found a place where he resolved, being advised by an angel, to build a monastery in honor of the Virgin Mary; and he named this place Várad.⁶⁷¹ Now King Ladislas went from strength to strength and *from virtue to virtue*,⁶⁷² and not only in Hungary but throughout all the kingdoms of Christendom the *sweet savour*⁶⁷³ was shed abroad. Therefore on the death of the emperor of the Romans the dukes and princes⁶⁷⁴ of the Germans and all the barons and nobility asked him with one heart and mind to take upon him the imperial power.⁶⁷⁵ But in his lifetime he did not seek only his own advantage but the things which are of Jesus Christ,⁶⁷⁶ and he weighed and pondered

⁶⁷¹ Várad, today Oradea on the river Crișul Repede. Várad means in Hung. 'smaller castle'; the monastery there means the cathedral chapter dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Ladislas is often regarded as the founder of the bishopric of Oradea; the actual beginnings of the bishopric are not clear, it may have been founded by St. Stephen.

⁶⁷² Ps 83: 8.

⁶⁷³ Gen 8: 21.

⁶⁷⁴ The strange Greek term *tetrarch* in this sentence may have reached the chronicler from the Latin Empire of the Crusaders.

⁶⁷⁵ A fictive story, Emperor Henry IV died in 1106. No possible claim of a king of Hungary to the imperial crown is known before the late Middle Ages (Sigismund, Albert, Matthias). King Andrew II may have considered a claim to the Latin Empire in the 1210's as his wife was the daughter of Emperor Peter Courtenay.

⁶⁷⁶ A widespread *topos* originated probably from Pope Leo the Great (cf. MPL 54: col. 596).

revolvebat. Non *transgrediaris terminos patrum* ⁶⁷⁷ tuorum. *Suis* itaque *terminis contentus* esse maluit, quam *supra mensuram iuris augere* ⁶⁷⁸ affectans alienigenarum et ignotarum gentium regimen suscipere recusavit. ⁶⁷⁹ Vix autem in Hungaria Deo pie ac *fideliter* serviendo et *leges convenienti vigore sanctiando* ⁶⁸⁰ poterat remanere. Cumque celebrasset Pasca Domini in Bodrog, ⁶⁸¹ ecce nuncii de Francia et de Hispania, de Anglia et Britania ad eum venerunt, et precipue de Wyllermo fratre regis Francorum, et ei omnipotentis Dei iniuriam se ulcisci manifestaverunt, et sanctam civitatem et sanctissimum sepulchrum de manu Sarracenorum liberare pensaverunt. ⁶⁸² Unde gloriosum regem rogaverunt, ut eis rector et gubernator in exercitu Iesu Christi existeret. ⁶⁸³ Rex autem hoc audiens *gavisus est gaudio magno*, et in eadem festivitate a nobilibus Hungarie licentiatu est, tristabaturque tota Hungaria propter eum.

140. Sed ipse quod inceperat, nullo modo dimittebat, misitque nuncium ad Corrardum ducem Bohemorum filium Othonis, et petiit ab illo ac precepit, ut secum ultra mare ire pro iniuria Iesu Christi prepararet. Ille autem libenti animo se promisit. ⁶⁸⁴ Interim cognatus Corrardi ducis nomine Sentapolug noctis silentio Pragmam veniens, ipsam civitatem cepit. Mane facto ab episcopo Pragensi in solio ducali sedit et a quibusdam honorifice susceptus est.

⁶⁷⁷ Prov 22: 28; cf. also Gratian, Decr. 2.7.1.31.

⁶⁷⁸ These expressions are also used in the letter of Pope Gregory VII to King Ladislas, see DHA 1: pp. 202–3; cf. Jaffé, Löwenfeld, *Regesta* Nr. 4952, p. 614; cf. Cowdrey, *Register* 6.29, p. 311.

⁶⁷⁹ This imaginary refusal fits the oft mentioned “reluctant king” behavior, see above ch. 124 (pp. 230–1) and 131 (pp. 244–5 with n. 668). Cf. also Gratian C. VII. q. VII. c. 31.

⁶⁸⁰ Gratian C. XIII. q. IV. c.42.

⁶⁸¹ There was a castle Bodrog near to present-day Bački Monoštor in Vojvodina, destroyed by the Mongols in 1241; no trace of it survived save its name in that of a county in south-central Hungary.

⁶⁸² The story is fictive, as Ladislas I died on 29 June, before the proclamation of the first crusade by Pope Urban II in November 1095; though diplomatic contacts existed between the Hungarian and the English courts. The French king had no

in his mind that divine utterance: *Pass not beyond the ancient bounds of your fathers*.⁶⁷⁷ He preferred to be content *within his own bounds* rather than follow the desire to *enlarge them beyond rightful measure*,⁶⁷⁸ and therefore he refused to take upon himself the rule of alien and unknown peoples.⁶⁷⁹ For even in Hungary it was hardly within his powers to serve God piously and *faithfully* and to uphold *the law with suitable force*.⁶⁸⁰ When he was celebrating Easter at Bodrog,⁶⁸¹ behold, there came to him messengers from France and from Spain, from England and Brittany, and especially from William, the brother of the king of the Franks, and they divulged to him their intention to avenge the injury done to the almighty God and to free the holy city and the most holy sepulcher from the hand of the Saracens.⁶⁸² Therefore they asked the glorious king that on their behalf he should be their leader and commander of the army of Jesus Christ.⁶⁸³ When the king heard this, he *rejoiced with a great joy*, and at the same feast he took his leave from the Hungarian nobles; and all Hungary grieved thereat.

140. However, what he had begun, he did not leave unfinished. He sent a messenger to Conrad, the duke of the Czechs, and the son of Otto, and asked and required of him that he should make himself ready to go with him across the seas on account of the injury done to Jesus Christ; and to this Conrad gave his promise with a glad mind.⁶⁸⁴ Meanwhile a kinsman of Duke Conrad, whose name was Svatopluk came in the silence of the night to Prague and seized the city. In the morning he was seated by the bishop of Prague upon

brother named William, but there were royal relatives with this name. William IV, count of Toulouse made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1093 (some historians suggest that via Hungary), and in the age of King Philip Augustus II (1180 to 1223) the regent was a William; that would be a possible date for the re-edition of this segment of our chronicle hence the name known to the author.

⁶⁸³ Cf. Gratian II D. XCVII. c. 1.

⁶⁸⁴ Conrad Otto I duke of the Czechs, died in 1092 after a few months' reign. He was a brother of Otto I the Handsome, a son-in-law of Béla I king of Hungary. In fact it was Conrad Otto II (1189–91), who made a crusader vow, but remained at home.

Corrardus autem ad gloriosum regem avunculum suum venit et que ei acciderant, narravit et regem in auxilium sibi venire in propria persona rogavit.⁶⁸⁵ Rex autem concedens ei ita, quod de servitio Dei dux non remaneret. Et quia consanguinitatis vinculo illi iungebatur, etiam memor sue actionis ducis patris eius, qui sibi in auxilium contra Salomonem venerat, promisit se in propria persona eum adiuturum.⁶⁸⁶ Habebatque rex secum fratres suos filios Geyse regis, Colomanum et Almus. Pronosticatusque ita erat rex de Colomano, quia fusor sanguinis fieret.⁶⁸⁷ Voluit enim Agriensem episcopum eum facere.⁶⁸⁸ Audiens eadem nocte secessit in Poloniam, audiens, quod pater eius et avus [101] Polonie honorifice suscepti essent. Secuti sunt eum de Hungaria Marcus et Ugra et alii.⁶⁸⁹ Rex autem congregato exercitu suo cepit ire contra Bohemos propter iniuriam nepotis sui. Cum autem pervenisset in confinium Bohemorum, gravis infirmitas eum invasit. Convocatisque principibus suis ad Colomanum nuncios misit, sanctum^a Marcellum prepositum et Petrum comitem, ut ad Hungariam reverteretur.⁶⁹⁰ Beatus autem Ladizlaus sic ordinavit, ut post ipsum Almus regnaret. Qui sincera simplicitate ductus honoravit fratrem suum Colomanum, preferendo sibi coronam regni, tamquam cui iure primogeniture videbatur competere.⁶⁹¹ Si quem autem scire delectat, quot

^a sanctum] secundum *var. Mss.*

⁶⁸⁵ Svatopluk, duke of Olomouc (1107–09) was a son of Otto I, duke of Olomouc and Euphemia, the daughter of King Béla I. At that time the Czech duke was a son of Otto I the Handsome. The event could refer to an enterprise of Svatopluk in 1105. The contemporary bishops of Prague were Cosmas (1090–98) and Herman (1099–1122); see Cosmas of Prague, *Chron.* 3. 17, pp. 179–81 (cf. Wolverton pp. 200–3).

⁶⁸⁶ A reference to ch. 115 (pp. 214–5, above).

⁶⁸⁷ Reference to the later mutilation of Álmos and his son. This is the first instance where the intervention of an “anti-Coloman” hand, serving the Álmos line of kings (1131–) can be detected; see further below, chapters 143 and following.

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. below ch. 152 (pp. 280–1) where Coloman is mentioned in connection with the bishopric of Oradea.

⁶⁸⁹ The reference is to Béla’s and Géza’s stay in Poland. The mentioned persons are unknown from other sources.

the ducal throne, and some received him with honor. Conrad came to his uncle, the renowned king, and told him of what had befallen him, and asked the king to come personally to his help.⁶⁸⁵ The king granted his request so that the duke should not hold back in his service of God. Also he was joined to him by the ties of blood, and he was mindful of how the duke's father had come to his aid against Solomon, and therefore he promised that he would help him in his own person.⁶⁸⁶ With the king were his brothers, King Géza's sons, Coloman and Álmos. The king already had foreknowledge of Coloman that he would shed blood.⁶⁸⁷ He rather wished to appoint him bishop of Eger.⁶⁸⁸ But Coloman learned of his intention and in the same night he departed to Poland, for he had heard that his father and grandfather had been honorably received there. Mark and Ugra and others followed him from Hungary.⁶⁸⁹ Having assembled his army, the king set out against the Czechs because of the wrong done to his nephew. When he reached the boundaries of Bohemia, he was overcome by a grave infirmity. He called together his chief men and sent the saintly prior Marcel and *ispán* Peter as messengers to Coloman asking him to return to Hungary.⁶⁹⁰ The blessed Ladislav ordained that Álmos should reign after him. He, however, in the true simplicity of his heart honored his brother, Coloman, and yielded to him the crown of the kingdom, for by the right of primogeniture he was entitled to it.⁶⁹¹ Whoever delights to know how many and how

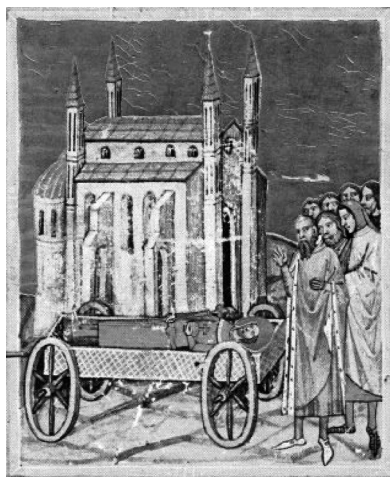
⁶⁹⁰ Marcell, probably the first known bishop of Vác (1111–13), perhaps the same Marcell mentioned in 1124 as archbishop of Esztergom. Calling him 'saintly' may refer to his pious life, but there is no evidence for any cult of the bishop. An *ispán* Peter is mentioned as count palatine in 1091.

⁶⁹¹ In all likelihood an author from the time of the Álmos line inserted this formulation. Álmos was made king of Croatia in 1091 and Coloman was educated as a future bishop; Ladislav decided for Álmos, but some unknown internal struggles led to the defeat of Álmos, who obtained the duchy. Actually, this was for quite some time the last instance that the *ducatus* for younger members of the dynasty was established.

et quanta bona genti sue Beatus Ladizlaus fecit, de gestis eiusdem plenam poterit habere notitiam.⁶⁹²

141. Sanctitate igitur et gratia plenus transiit ad consortia angelorum anno regni sui XIX-o, et sepultus Waradini in monasterio suo anno Domini M-o XC-o V-o III-o Kalendas Augusti, feria prima.⁶⁹³

142. SANCTUS REX LADIZLAUS MORITUR ET COLOMANUS FILIUS GEYSE REGIS IN REGEM LEGITTIME CORONATUR



⁶⁹⁴Colomanus itaque filius regis Geyse de Polonia festinanter rediit et coronatus est, et duci Almus ducatum plenarie [102] concessit. In cuius etiam temporibus multa mala sunt perpetrata, ut inferius patebit.

143. Erat namque habitu corporis contemptibilis, sed astutus et docilis, ispidus, pilosus, luscus, gibosus, claudus et blesus.⁶⁹⁵ Cumque predicti peregrini Iesu Christi audissent de

morte gloriosi regis Ladizlai, valde condoluerunt ac inde miserunt nuncios ad regem Colomanum, ut quemadmodum gloriosum La-

⁶⁹² The word 'deeds' (*gesta*) refers to the Legend of St. Ladislav or to another chronicle variant. It is typical of chroniclers to "send" readers to hagiographical texts, see above, n. 308, p. 109.

⁶⁹³ That Ladislav was first buried in the Benedictine monastery of Somogyvár, founded by the king in 1091, and was later transferred to Oradea in the 1110's was believed on the basis of a mistaken reading of a Latin document. In the chronicle 1 August is wrongly placed on Sunday, unless the correct date is Sunday 29 July, so recorded in the Buda chronicle family.

great were the good works wrought for his people by the blessed Ladislas, will find full account of his deeds.⁶⁹²

141. Full of holiness and grace, he joined the company of the angels in the nineteenth year of his reign, and was buried in his monastery at Oradea in the year of our Lord 1095 on Sunday, August 1.⁶⁹³

142. KING ST. LADISLAS DIES AND COLOMAN, SON OF GÉZA, IS LAWFULLY CROWNED KING

⁶⁹⁴Coloman, the son of King Géza, returned in haste from Poland, and was crowned; and to Duke Álmos he granted the duchy with full rights. Many evil things were done in his time, as will appear below.

143. Coloman was of mean stature, but astute and a fast learner; he was shaggy and hirsute, half-blind and humpbacked, lame and a stammerer.⁶⁹⁵ When the aforesaid pilgrims of Jesus Christ heard of the death of the glorious King Ladislas, they were very sad, and they sent messengers to King Coloman inviting him just as they did the glorious King Ladislas, thinking that he would be of the same piety as he was of the same blood. When King Coloman heard their request, he not only did not promise to go with them on their crusade, but he would by no means allow them pas-

⁶⁹⁴ Hist. in.: A hunchback (Coloman) in caftan, bowing, attended by three persons, is being crowned by a bishop, accompanied by another bishop and two clerics.

⁶⁹⁵ Coloman was one of the most educated among the rulers of his time, as witnessed by the Pope Urban II (Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Regesta* Nr. 5662, p. 689). The mentioned handicaps try to prove the unfitness to any ecclesiastical and secular dignity. They are in a tradition from the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (e.g., in ch. XXIX), the Bible (e.g., Lev 21: 20) and Gratian (C. 32. 5. 18 [T] 1137, 39). As a literary borrowing it may go back to Homer's Thersites. See: Kapitány, "Römisch-rechtliche Terminologie", pp. 355–62.

dizlaum rogaverant, ita et de ipso petierunt, putantes ipsum esse de eadem pietate, quia ipse de eodem sanguine fuerat. Colomanus autem rex hec audiens non solum non ire cum eis promisit, sed etiam per terram suam viam illis minime concessit. Exercitum autem contra eos misit, ut ad regnum introire non permitterent, putans ipsos esse tyrannos et non peregrinos.⁶⁹⁶ Illi autem spem in Deo ponentes et cuius signum portabant, Iesu Christi, in illo confidentes Hungariam audacter intraverunt et ex Hungaris multos interfecerunt.⁶⁹⁷ Hoc audito rex congregavit exercitum suum circa Temes et illos simulata pace ire dimiserunt. Cumque ad Zemlin pervenissent et se in pace esse sperantes castra metati sunt.⁶⁹⁸ Castrum autem Zemlin ceperunt, quod rex alias insidias non faceret, et *peiora prioribus* non fierent. Deinde marchiam⁶⁹⁹ illam totam devastabant propter victum, et quicquid rapere poterant, ad castrum portabant. Rex autem in Temes utiliori consilio usus pacem cum illis firmavit, et multis muneribus et victualibus eos honoravit, et in pace ire dimisit. Illi autem peregrini proficientes ceperunt Anthiochiam et adiuvente Deo Ierusalem abierunt.⁷⁰⁰

144. Cumque rex ad propria reverteretur et dux Almus ad ducatum iret,⁷⁰¹ quidam iniqui dyabolico freti consilio ceperunt inter eos acusare. Dicebant enim duci: Domine dux, rex insidiatur tibi et capere vult te. Deinde regi dicebant: Dux tibi posuit insidias, et si non custodieris te, scias procul dubio te moriturum. Hoc autem

⁶⁹⁶ The same expression is used for these crusaders' behaviour on the Balkans by Baudry de Bourgueil, see RHC Hoc 4, I, 17 p. 23. Cf. also below ch. 166, pp. 310–1.

⁶⁹⁷ There were bloody clashes between the different contingents of the crusaders (Peter the Hermit, William Charpentier, Gottschalk, Emicho) and the royal troops in the summer of 1096, e.g. at Nitra, Moson, Pannonhalma and Zemun. Godfrey of Bouillon marched through the country in peace, but it was not interesting for our chronicler. The crusaders tried to cross the country without any oral or written agreement to get provisions and possibility to find markets. In Moson even the king was besieged by the crusaders.

⁶⁹⁸ The companions of Peter of Amiens in fact attacked the castle of Zemun, as described by Albert of Aachen (*Historia Ierosolymitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem* 1.6–13, 1.23–9, 2.1–7; ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington, pp. 9–28,

sage through his lands. He sent an army against them to prevent them from entering his kingdom, thinking that they were tyrants and no pilgrims.⁶⁹⁶ They, placing their hope in God and trusting in Jesus Christ, whose sign they bore, boldly entered Hungary, and they killed many of the Hungarians.⁶⁹⁷ When the king heard this, he assembled his army at the river Timiș, and under a show of peace he allowed them to depart; and they, hoping that there was peace, pitched their camp when they had come to Zemun.⁶⁹⁸ They also took possession of the castle of Zemun, lest the king should set a trap for them and *greater evils then before* should befall. Then they pillaged the entire borderland⁶⁹⁹ for food, and whatever they could seize they carried to the castle. However, at the river Timiș the king followed wiser counsel and made firm peace with them; having honored them with many gifts and, having supplied them with provisions, allowed them to depart in peace. The pilgrims went on their way and captured Antioch, and with the help of God, they came to Jerusalem.⁷⁰⁰

144. When the king had returned home and Duke Álmos had gone to his duchy,⁷⁰¹ certain evil men began with devilish counsel to set them against each other. For they said to the duke: "Lord Duke! The king is plotting against you and wishes to take you prisoner." Then they said to the king: "The duke has laid traps for you, and be aware that if you are not on your guard you will die." When they heard these things, each gathered an army, for they were young and headstrong. The king and his army marched to Várkony against the duke, and the duke drew near to Várkony from the opposite di-

44–72; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007). Zemun was at that time a Hungarian border castle facing Belgrade, the Byzantine border fortress.

⁶⁹⁹ *Marchia* is perhaps a reference to the existence of a march in Srem, also used by Master Roger in 1242, see his "Epistle to the thorough lament upon the destruction of Hungary by the Tatars," János M. Bak, Martyn Rady, eds., transl., in: *Anonymus and Roger* p. 177 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011, CEMT 5). The name survived in the archdeaconry "Marchia" of the Pécs bishopric.

⁷⁰⁰ Antioch was captured in June 1098 and Jerusalem in July 1099.

⁷⁰¹ Most likely in Bihar County in eastern Hungary.

audiente<s>, ambo iuvenes et lascivi congregaverunt exercitum. Rex autem cum exercitu venit contra ducem in Warkun, [103] et dux econtra venit prope Warkun, Tisciam autem inter eos dimiserunt.⁷⁰² Fideles autem Hungari treugas ab ipsis petierunt, et ut colloquium haberent, dixerunt: Quid est, quod nos pugnamus? Isti nos obpugnant, moriemur et cum ipsi evaserint, fugient: sicut nudius tertius patres nostri vel fratres cum patribus eorum vel fratribus pugnaverunt, et ipsi mortui sunt. Nec nos videmus causam pugne. Sed eis, si pugna placet, ipsi duo pugnent, et quis eorum prevaluerit, ipsum pro domino habeamus. Quo statuto consilio principes reversi sunt. Cumque Grak⁷⁰³ regi dixisset, quemadmodum statuerant et Ilia⁷⁰⁴ duci revelasset, absque voluntate eorum quieverunt.

145. Post hec autem rex invasit Rusciam et ducissa Rutenorum nomine Lanca^{a, 705} venit obviam regi, pedibus provoluta obsecrabat regem cum lacrimis, ne disperderet gentem illam. Cumque regem non audientem instantissimis sollicitaret precibus, calcitravit eam rex et ammovit a se dicens: Non oportet regalem maiestatem fletu muliebri deturpari. Illa autem gemens reversa est retrorsum et rogabat omnipotentis Dei auxilium. Plurimi autem Kuni cum Mircode cum precibus venerant in auxilium Rutenorum.⁷⁰⁶ Qui de nocte consurgentes sumpmo mane percusserunt castra regis, usque ad interemptionem dissipaverunt ea crudeliter. Nobiles autem Hungarie communierunt regem circumquaque fueruntque regi pro muro inexpugnabili. Kuni vero persequentes comitem Euzem de genere Almasi,⁷⁰⁷ virum fortem et alacrem, interfecerunt eum et omnes, qui cum eo erant. Similiter et episcopos Cuppan et Lau-

^a ducissa Rutenorum nomine Lanca] Lanca eiusdem regis *Ms add.*

⁷⁰² A similar important meeting took place between the duke and the king already in ch. 92 in the same Várkony. Some suggested that ch. 144 was influenced by ch. 92.

⁷⁰³ The name is recorded in this form as that of a *comes (ispán)* of county Somogy under Ladislav I. (DHA 1: pp. 261, 290).

⁷⁰⁴ Identical with Ilia, son-in-law of Vid, cf. ch. 109, pp. 206–7.

⁷⁰⁵ The campaign was launched in 1099. The identity of ‘Lanka’ is obscure. It may refer to Janka, a nun, daughter of the Grand duke Vsevolod Yaroslavich of Kiev

rection, and between them was the river Tisza.⁷⁰² However, loyal Hungarians sought to bring about a truce, in order that they could have a talk with each other, and they said: "What do we fight for? If we lose, we die; if they flee, they escape; in times past our fathers fought against each other and brothers against brothers, and they died. Nor do we see any ground for fighting. Let those two fight if fighting pleases them; and whichever of them shall win, let us take as lord." Having taken this decision, the commanders turned back. When Grab⁷⁰³ told the king of their decision and Ilia⁷⁰⁴ informed the duke, they kept the peace, though unwillingly.

145. After these things, the king invaded Rus' and he was met by the duchess of the Ruthenians, named Janka.⁷⁰⁵ She threw herself down before his feet and besought him with tears not to destroy her people. He would not listen, and when she continued to implore him with the most urgent prayers, the king kicked her and pushed her away, saying: "It is not fitting that royal majesty should be defiled by the weeping of a woman." Wailing she turned away and asked the help of almighty God. In response to her prayers, many among the Cumans, among them Mircod, came to the help of the Ruthenians.⁷⁰⁶ Rising in the night, at the first dawn they overran the king's camp and scattered and cruelly destroyed his army. But the Hungarian nobles guarded the king from every side and were like a wall around him which could not be stormed. *Ispán Öze* of the Almási kindred, a man of courage and quickness,⁷⁰⁷ was pursued by the Cumans, and they killed him and all who were with him. In addition, the Bishops Koppány and Lawrence and many other brave warriors were pierced with arrows and slain.⁷⁰⁸ One of the Cumans, whose name was Monok,⁷⁰⁹

(reigned 1078–93). The fate of this tradition is unclear; the later Russian author may have used the Hungarian chronicles; cf. PSRL 2, cols. 197, 199, 273–4, see Sophia Senyk, *A history of the Church in Ukraine, I: To the end of the thirteenth century*, p. 198 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1993).

⁷⁰⁶ Mircod, perhaps a reminiscence of a Cuman dignity.

⁷⁰⁷ See above ch. 137, pp. 256–7.

rentium multosque alios bellatores fortes sagittarum transfixionibus occiderunt.⁷⁰⁸ Unus autem ex Kunis nomine Monoch⁷⁰⁹ acriter persequabatur Hungaros. Quem Matheus miles regis optimus volens comprehendere, impetum fecit in illum. Ille vero fugiens missa postergum sagitta⁷¹⁰ pedem Mathei transfixit, et nisi socii multi insertis clipeis illum protexissent, mortem non evasisset. Petrus itaque versus est ad Monoch. Cumque ad Petrum [104] sagittasset, sagittare non potuit, et usque dum aliam sagittam acciperet, Petrus latus Monoch perforavit, quem captum ad regem vivum perduxit. Tunc Iula comes in pedibus vulneratus evasit,⁷¹¹ de quo vulnere in Hungaria mortuus est. Rex itaque et omnes sui celeriter fugiendo venerunt in Hungariam. Thesaurum autem regis et omnes, qui celeriter fugere non potuerunt, Kuni rapuerunt. Tanta strages ibi fuit, quod raro Hungari in tanta strage fuerunt. Qui autem ex Hungaris in silvis evaserant, pre necessitate famis soleas calciamentorum suorum assando comedebant. Quid plura? Tanta tunc pericula facta sunt, que scripta non sunt, que dici non possunt.⁷¹²

146. Rex autem de prima uxore sua genuit Ladizlaum et Stephanum anno Domini M-o CI-o.⁷¹³ Cumque rex esset in Dalmatia, in civitate Zadur et cogitaret civitatem succendere pro duritia gentis illius, dormierat in pallacio suo, quod ibi edificaverat. Et ecce Sanctus <Donatus> Zadriensis episcopus venit ad eum in horrido vultu, quem per capillos capiens traxit et cum virgis laureis valde

⁷⁰⁸ Their death also recorded in the Annals of Pressburg for the year 1100/1099 (SRH I: p. 126), where only Koppány's death is ascribed to the Cumans, just as in the Russian Chronicles, but those note the presence in 1097 of two other bishops as well (cf. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 196–7).

⁷⁰⁹ A Cuman leader with a similar name is mentioned by Anna Komnena (Alexiad, 8.6. cf. Dawes p. 200, as Manjak) and by *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (pp. 183–3 and 196–7, as Bonjak).

⁷¹⁰ Shooting, so to say, backwards is recorded as a specialty of several groups of riding nomads of the steppe from Scythians to Mongols, see Timothy May, "The Training of an Inner Asian Nomad Army in the Pre-Modern Period," *The Journal of Military History* 70, Number 3, July 2006, pp. 617–635.

was fierce in pursuit of the Hungarians. Wishing to seize him, an excellent warrior of the king, named Matthew, attacked him. As he fled, he shot an arrow over his shoulder⁷¹⁰ which pierced Matthew's foot, and if a number of his comrades had not protected him by holding their shields before him, he would not have escaped death. Then Peter turned to Monok; and when Monok tried to shoot an arrow at him, but could not, as before he could fit another arrow, Peter stabbed him and brought him, alive and captive, to the king. Then *ispán* Gyula although wounded in the foot survived;⁷¹¹ but died of this wound in Hungary. By swift flight the king and all his men reached Hungary. The king's treasure was seized by the Cumans, and all those who could not flee speedily were taken by them. Rarely did Hungarians suffer such slaughter as in this battle. Those Hungarians who escaped into the woods were forced by hunger to roast and eat the soles of their boots. What more? No man has written of such great perils, nor can it be told what they endured.⁷¹²

146. By his first wife the king begot Ladislas and Stephen in the year of our Lord 1101.⁷¹³ When the king was in Dalmatia, in the city of Zadar, he had a mind to set fire to the city because of the stubbornness of the people; and as he was asleep in his palace which he had built there, behold, there came to him with terrible visage St. Donatus, bishop of Zadar, and seized and dragged him

⁷¹¹ This Gyula is mentioned in charters as count palatine under King Géza I in 1075 (DHA I: pp. 218, 265).

⁷¹² The description of this battle can also be found in the Russian chronicle (*The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 196–7), which, however, may have been influenced by the Hungarian chronicle tradition.

⁷¹³ Coloman's first wife, according to a later source called Felicia, was the daughter of Roger I, Norman duke of Sicily (d. 1101); the marriage took place c. 1097. Stephen was the future Stephen II (1116–31), Ladislas died in 1112.

verberavit.⁷¹⁴ Quem cum dimisisset et excitatus fuisset, illum non vidit, sed dolorem sentiebat et ictus virgarum super corpus suum aspiciebat. Quapropter a molestatione civitatis pacienter cessavit.

147. Deinde rex volebat ire in Rusciam.⁷¹⁵ Anno Domini M-o C-o VI-o reversus est dux Almus de Patavia,⁷¹⁶ qui propter regis timorem illuc fugierat. Quem rex suscepit ad pacem. Deinde fugit in Poloniam⁷¹⁷ et accersito Polonorum et Hungarorum consilio et auxilio reversus est in Hungariam et cepit Novum Castrum et intravit illud. Rex autem hoc audito obsedit castrum. Cumque in crastinum pugnare vellet, ecce dux subito equum ascendens portas castris exiens citissime equitavit solus ad castrum regis. Et cum ad tentorium regis venisset, statim de equo descendens et ad pedes regis venisset, et in ore omnium se culpabilem proclamavit. Rex autem <suis> nichil tale <sentientibus>^a duci indulsit.⁷¹⁸ Nam et indignationem suam ab Hungaris, qui in castro erant, per intercessionem ducis amovit. [105] Deinde dux Iherosolimam profectus est et cum prosperitate rediens, rex eum suscepit ad pacem.⁷¹⁹ Delectabatur autem dux in venationibus et assiduus erat in eis, et dabat ei rex omnia ad venandum necessaria.

^a sentientibus] scientibus *Ms*, cf. cap. 136: „suis nichil tale opinantibus”

⁷¹⁴ Coloman conquered Zadar in 1105. Donatus was bishop of Zadar 801–850 (mentioned in Frankish chronicles from 805 on); the palace of the bishop could have been around the St. Trinity rotunda. Coloman's triumph of 1105 was commemorated on an inscription on the belfry of the monastery of St. Mary, see Ana Marinković, “Constrvi et erigi ivssit rex Colomannvs: the royal chapel of King Coloman in the complex of St. Mary in Zadar,” *Annual of medieval studies at the CEU* 8 (2002), pp. 37–64.

⁷¹⁵ Duke Álmos was married to Predslava, the daughter of the grand duke of Kiev, Svjatopolk II Iziaslavich (1093–1113). Perhaps this alliance formed the background of this campaign.

⁷¹⁶ Álmos fled to the Emperor Henry IV in 1105, but after his forced resignation and death, Álmos kept good relations with his son, Henry V (1106–25, from 1111 emperor). In 1108, Henry V besieged personally Pressburg, the campaign ended in a peace treaty with Coloman.

⁷¹⁷ The Polish duke, Bolesław III Wrymouth (1102–38) was the brother-in-law of Álmos's wife. Bolesław later became an ally of Coloman see *GpP* 46, p. 203 and later.

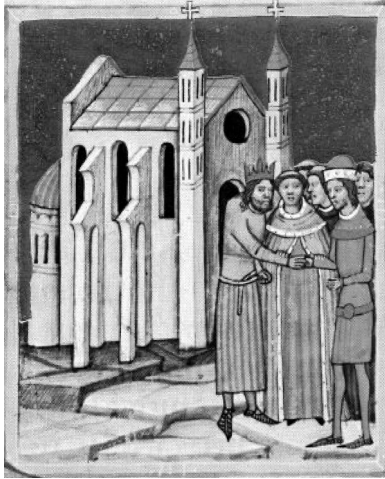
by the hair and scourged him heavily with rods of laurel.⁷¹⁴ Then he released him, and the king awakened and he saw the bishop no more, but he felt the pain and he saw the strokes of the rods upon his body. He therefore refrained from inflicting any more suffering upon the city.

147. Then the king wished to march against Rus.⁷¹⁵ In the year of our Lord 1106 Duke Álmos returned from Passau, whither he had fled for fear of the king.⁷¹⁶ The king received him in peace. Then he fled to Poland;⁷¹⁷ and being urged on by the advice of the Poles and Hungarians, and having received their help, he returned to Hungary, and he captured and occupied Abaújvár. When the king heard this, he besieged the place. As he prepared for battle on the morrow, behold, the duke, suddenly mounting his horse, rode forth alone from the gates of the castle with utmost speed to the king's camp. When he had come to the king's tent, he immediately dismounted from his horse and, prostrating himself at the king's feet, in the presence of all he proclaimed himself guilty. The king pardoned him without the knowledge of his men;⁷¹⁸ at the duke's prayer he also turned away his anger from the Hungarians who were in the castle. Then the duke set out for Jerusalem, and on his happy return the king received him in peace.⁷¹⁹ The duke otherwise delighted in hunting and constantly took part in the chase, and the king gave him all things needful for hunting.

⁷¹⁸ While the Latin is clearly corrupted (verbatim: "his [men] having known nothing of this sort"), some such meaning fits here. On the ritual of submission, see Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France* (Ithaca N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992; and closer to home: Zbigniew Dalewski, *Ritual and politics: Writing the history of a dynastic conflict in medieval Poland* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) on the repeated pardons and conflicts between Zbigniew and Bolesław III.

⁷¹⁹ The pilgrimage took place c. 1107–08, and it is highly possible that he returned with relics which paid a role in his monastery foundations (Dömös, Meszes, both dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch). It is possible that his absence during the pilgrimage offered Coloman the possibility to deprive him of his duchy. At any rate, by 1108, the anonymous *Kaiserchronik* already records that this was done; see *Frutolfs und Ekkehard's Chroniken und die anonyme Kaiserchronik* F.-J. Schmale–I. Schmale–Ott, eds. p. 250 (Darmstadt 1972, Ausgew. Quell., 15).

148. DE CONSTRUCTIONE ECCLESIE DEMES



⁷²⁰Dux autem construxit monasterium de Demes,⁷²¹ rogavitque regem, ut ad consecrationem venire, et sic^a factum est. Postquam palatini accusabant ducem, quod insidias preparasset, ut interficeret regem in constructione monasterii sui. Quod et forte fecisset, nisi amici regis ipsum vigilantissime custodissent. Rex autem iratus voluit capere eum, sed reverentissimi episcopi et alii boni principes scientes falsum

esse, quod ex confectione inimicorum duci inponebantur, intercesserunt pro eo apud regem, et pacificaverunt eos iuramento, dimisitque ducem in pace, ut in Bokon venaretur. Misitque cum eo duos iobagiones sub pretexto honorandi eum, quos tamen clamculo instruxerat, ut animum ducis sollertius explorarent, si dux adversus regem machinaretur, regi nunciarent. Cumque venisset dux in Chour⁷²² et asture misso cornicem cepisset, simplici animo dixit iobagionibus: Nonne cornix iuraret asturi, ut si eam dimitteret, de cetero non vociferaret? Illi autem respondent, quod nec astur dimitteret cornicem propter iuramentum, nec cornix iurare posset, cum sit animal irrationale. Eadem vero [106] nocte verba ducis regi nunciaverunt. Dux autem veniens in Bokon causa venandi, statim absentavit se ab illis, et fugit iterum ad Patavos regis Teutonicorum auxilium imploraturus.

^a sic] sicut *Ms*

⁷²⁰ Hist. in.: Person in "dual" cap on white horse (Álmos) with two mounted companions observe bird (falcon) devouring another bird (crow). Hound in the foreground.

148. THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH OF DÖMÖS

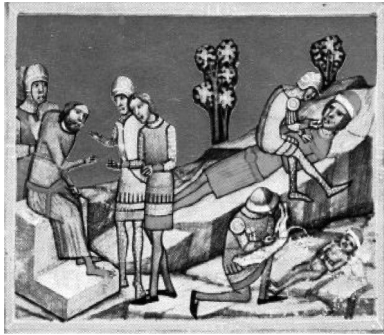
⁷²⁰The duke then built a monastery at Dömös⁷²¹ and requested the king to come to the consecration, and the king did so. But afterwards courtiers accused the duke that he had contrived a plot to kill the king at the monastery's building site, and that perhaps he would have done it if the king's friends had not guarded him most vigilantly. In his anger the king wished to seize the duke, but the most reverend bishops and other well-disposed dignitaries knew that this was a false charge brought against the duke by his enemies and interceded for him with the king; and thus reconciliation was sworn between them. The king sent away the duke in peace to his hunting in the Bakony. Under the pretext of paying him honor, he sent with him two retainers with secret instructions that they should cunningly sound out the mind of the duke; if the duke were intriguing against the king, they should inform the king. When the duke came to Csór,⁷²² he captured a crow by sending after it a falcon, and in the simplicity of his mind he said to the king's men: "Would not this crow give her oath to the falcon that if it would let her go, she would caw no more?" They replied that neither would the falcon release the crow because of its oath, nor could a crow swear an oath, being an animal without reason. That same night they reported the duke's words to the king. When the duke had arrived in the Bakony to hunt, he immediately left them and again fled to Passau to implore the help of the king of the Germans.

⁷²¹ A monastery dedicated to St. Margaret of Antioch, later a collegiate chapter, founded on the site of a former royal estate on the Danube, not far from Visegrád and Esztergom. cf. ch. 96. The consecration is presumed to have taken place c. 1108.

⁷²² Csór is a village west of Székesfehérvár, towards the Bakony Forest.

149. Anno Domini M-o C-o XII-o N, filius regis Colomani mortuus est,⁷²³ et rex secundam duxit uxorem de Ruscia,⁷²⁴ quam in adulterio deprehensam peccantem nec violenta temeritate dimisit. Sciebat enim quia scriptum est: *Deus quos coniunxit, homo non separet.*⁷²⁵ Scilicet sine lege et absque ratione. Ideo non ipse ab ea se separavit, sed lex ab ea eum separavit, quam reatus acusavit, culpa dampnavit, maleficium coartavit.⁷²⁶ Remisit ergo eam lex in terram suam.⁷²⁷ Que ex adulterio^a peperit filium nomine Borith.⁷²⁸ Borith autem genuit Calamanum.

150. DUX ALMUS ET FILIUS EIUS EXOCULANTUR



⁷²⁹Anno Domini M-o C-o XIII-o imperator propter ducem Almus movit exercitum ingentem et venit in confinium Hungarie, ut colloquium cum rege haberet, et inter eos pacem fieri^{b,730} maret. Et quod factum est. Rex autem imperatori plurima dona misit et sic honorifice repatriavit. Post hec rex

reduxit ducem Almus ad pacem. Confirmata autem pace⁷³¹ tandem rex cepit ducem et filium eius Belam infantulum et obcecavit eos. Sed et Belam infantulum preceperat castrare. Sed obcecator timens Deum et regni sterilitatem castravit catulum, cuius testiculos

^a ex adulterio] in exadulterio *Ms*

^b fieri] formare *Ms*

⁷²³ Probably Ladislav, mentioned in ch. 146 (pp. 270–1, above).

⁷²⁴ Euphemia, the daughter of the later Grand Duke Vladimir Monomakh II of Kiev (1113–25); see PSRL 2, col. 273.

⁷²⁵ Mt 19: 6; Mc 10: 9

⁷²⁶ Cf. Gratian C. xxxiii. q. II. 18.

149. In the year of our Lord 1112, N., King Coloman's son⁷²³ died, and the king married a second wife from Rus'.⁷²⁴ When she was taken in the sin of adultery, he sent her away, but not in headstrong anger. For he knew that it is written "*What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.*"⁷²⁵ That is, without law and reason. Thus not he divorced her but the law separated him from her, whom her sin accused, her trespass convicted and her evil deed ensnared.⁷²⁶ Thus the law sent her back into her own country.⁷²⁷ As the fruit of her adultery she bore a son, named Boris,⁷²⁸ who begot Coloman.

150. DUKE ÁLMOS AND HIS SON ARE BLINDED

⁷²⁹In the year of our Lord 1113 the emperor set on foot a great army in the desire to be of help to Duke Álmos and came to the borders of Hungary in order that he might have a talk with the king and make peace between him and the duke.⁷³⁰ This was accomplished. The king sent very many gifts to the emperor, who then returned with honor to his country. After these things the king received Duke Álmos again in peace. Yet after peace had been established,⁷³¹ in the end the king seized the duke and his infant son Béla and blinded them. He also gave orders that the infant

⁷²⁷ This could have happened c. 1113/14.

⁷²⁸ Boris came to be a rather tenacious claimant to the throne of Hungary. He married a Byzantine lady, Anna Dukaina, a relative of the Byzantine emperor, their son was called Konstantinos Kalamanos, who became the governor of Cilicia. For reasons of legitimating himself, Boris also called himself Coloman; see *O city of Byzantium : annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry J. Magoulias, p. 54. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984).

⁷²⁹ Hist. in.: (front) Naked hunchback king (Coloman) in bed with speech gesture to a warrior with empty shield; (rear) monks with swords drawn stand at the gate of a two-towered building while a warrior grabs a red-mantled duke (Álmos) holding fast with bloody hand to an altar.

⁷³⁰ See Kinnamos 1.9 (Brand pp. 17–8) and Choniates, tr. Margoulias, p. 11.

⁷³¹ Somewhat later, perhaps in ca. 1115.

tulit regi.⁷³² Et de nobilibus regni obcecavit Uros, Vatha et Paul.⁷³³ Nichil [107] tamen profuit innoxii sanguinis profusio, quem divina ultione premature mortis deglutivit dira sorbitio et punivit temporalis regni destructio. Unde dictum est: *Non sic impii* in omnes et cetera.⁷³⁴ Ductus est autem dux Almus in monasterium suum in Demes.

151. Post hec autem rex cepit egrotare graviter, et habebat quendam medicum Latinum nomine Draconem,⁷³⁵ cui nimium credebatur. Hic apposuit emplastrum super aures regis, qui ex capitis dolore urgebatur, et per concavit<at>es aurium vis emplastri non modicam extraxit partem cerebri eius. Remoto autem emplastro, quod diutius tenere non poterat, ostendit Othmaro comiti.⁷³⁶ Comes Othmarus inspiciens emplastrum vidit in eo cerebrum extractum, dixitque regi: Domine, expedit tibi, ut prepares te ad viaticum. Quo audito timuit rex et ingemuit. Postea autem iniit rex consilium cum scleratissimis Mark filio Syma⁷³⁷ et Achille filio Iaco⁷³⁸ et cum aliis comitibus, quorum consilio ducem et filium eius de gremio matris sue extractum excecaverat. Misitque ex eis quendam nomine Benedictum filium Both apprehendere ducem, ne forte mortuo rege ipse ei succederet. Rex autem in morte precepit filio suo et principibus, ut ipsi post mortem suam super Rusciam ulciscerentur iniuriam, quam ipsi fecerant.⁷³⁹ Cum autem Benedictus recessisset, dux ante monasterium sedebat plangens

⁷³² Cosmas (*Chron.* 3: 43, p. 218 cf. Wolverton, p. 233) also knew about the blinding and castration. A variant of the topos of "cheating," see Godfrey of Viterbo, *Pantheon* (MGH SS 20, p. 243) where the heart of the prince is changed for that of a hare.

⁷³³ Unknown persons, though a certain John, son of Uros was palatine between 1108–13 (DHA 1: p. 357), see also above, ch. 153, pp. 284–5.

⁷³⁴ Ps1: 4.

⁷³⁵ Among medieval doctors a commonly used name.

⁷³⁶ A certain Othmar was mentioned in a forged charter as *ispán* of Bars for the year 1124 (DHA 1: p. 418).

⁷³⁷ This Mark is mentioned above in ch. 140, pp. 262–3.

Béla should be castrated. But the man who was instructed to blind them feared God and the sterility of the kingdom, and therefore he castrated a dog and brought its testicles to the king.⁷³² From among the nobles of the kingdom, the king also had Uros, Vata and Paul⁷³³ blinded. But the shedding of innocent blood profited him nothing; for divine vengeance made him drink the bitterness of early death and punished him with the decline of his temporal kingdom. Wherefore it is written: *The ungodly are not so* in all et cetera.⁷³⁴ Duke Álmos was taken to his monastery at Dömös.

151. The king now began to be gravely ill, and he had an Italian doctor, named Draco,⁷³⁵ in whom he placed too much trust. This doctor applied a poultice to the ears of the king, who was plagued by headaches, and the strength of the poultice drew out through the cavities of his ears no small part of his brain. When the poultice had been removed because he could endure it no longer, he showed it to *ispán* Othmar.⁷³⁶ When he inspected it and saw upon it the matter drawn forth from the brain, he said to the king: "Sire, it behooves you to prepare yourself for extreme unction." When the king heard this, he groaned and was afraid. Then the king entered into counsel with the most wicked men, Mark, son of Sima⁷³⁷ and Achilles son of Jákó,⁷³⁸ and other *ispáns*, by whose advice he had blinded the duke and his son, torn away from his mother's bosom. He sent one of them, whose name was Benedict, son of Bot, to seize the duke lest after the king's death he would succeed him. As he lay dying, the king also instructed his son and his great men that after his death they should take vengeance on Rus' for the injury done to him.⁷³⁹ When Benedict arrived, the duke was sitting before the monastery, bemoaning his pain and sorrow. When he heard the sound of horsemen rapidly approaching, he had a presentiment of danger and had him

⁷³⁸ Unknown, earlier identified as Jacob, *ispán* of Borsod.

⁷³⁹ A sentence inserted from a context discussing the defeat of 1099, mentioned in ch. 145, and again referred to it in ch. 155.

dolorem proprium. Qui cum audisset, quod equites festinanter venissent, presensit animo sibi periculum imminere, et fecit se introduci in monasterium, et tenebat manibus altare Sancte Margarete virginis, ut saltem pro reverentia Dei et sanctorum eius eum inde abstrahere non presumant. Benedictus autem per antifrasm dictus⁷⁴⁰ sacrilegas manus iniecit in eum, et tenentem altaria violenter extrahebat. Dum quoque sic conaretur extrahere, divulsa est cutis manus ducis et infectum est altare sanguine.⁷⁴¹ Sacerdotes autem observabant hostia ecclesie et volebant illum Benedictum capere. Ille autem hoc percipiens, corde furibundo, quomodo potuit, exivit. Et dum festinanter equitaret per silvam Pelys, cecidit de equo et cervice fracta mortuus est. Et canes [108] eius, qui sequebantur ipsum, devoraverunt carnes eius et ossa.

152. Iste Colomanus, sicut quidam dicunt, fuit episcopus Waradiensis, sed quia fratres, quos habebat, morte sunt preventi,⁷⁴² ideo summo pontifice cum eo dispensante regnare compellitur. Qui ab Hungaris Cunues Calman appellatur, eo quod libros habebat, in quibus horas canonicas ut episcopus persolvebat.⁷⁴³ Iste Dalmatie regnum occiso suo rege Petro nominato⁷⁴⁴ in montibus Petergozdia Hungarie adiunxit. Galeas quoque Venetorum et naves solidans et allocans pecunia maxima exercitum copiosum in Apuliam destinavit. Qui Apulia spoliata per tres menses permanserunt in ea. Ubi etiam Monopolim et Brundusium civitates expugnantes, Venetis ad tenendum pro utilitate regis Colomani reliquerunt. Ipsi autem ad Hungariam abinde sunt reversi.⁷⁴⁵ Que quidem civitates

⁷⁴⁰ *Benedictus* is in Latin 'blessed.'

⁷⁴¹ A serious offence against Canon law, and heavenly vengeance arrived immediately. On this, see William Chester Jordan, "A Fresh Look at Medieval Sanctuary," in: Ruth Mazo Karras, Joel B. Kaye, E. Ann Matter, eds, *Law and the illicit in medieval Europe*, pp. 1–16 (Philadelphia, PA.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

⁷⁴² Of his alleged brothers only Álmos is known by name.

⁷⁴³ That is "Könyv" in Hungarian "book", referring to the fact that the king was well read in Canon law, praised also by the pope (see above, ch. 143, n. 695 on p. 265). His nickname is something like "beauclerk." This could have been exact if his brother, Álmos was designated as king. However, in ch. 140 (pp. 262–3) he is mentioned as a would-be bishop of Eger, and not that of Oradea.

led into the monastery. With his hands he grasped the altar of St. Margaret the virgin, for surely at least in reverence for God and His saints they would not dare to drag him thence. But Benedict—the falsely so named⁷⁴⁰—laid sacrilegious hands upon him and pulled at him violently as he clung to the altar. While he thus strove to drag him away, the skin on the duke's hands was torn and the altar was defiled with blood.⁷⁴¹ Priests were guarding the door of the church, and they wished to seize this Benedict. Perceiving this, with fury in his heart he made his escape as best as he could; but as he rode in haste through the woods of Pilis, he fell from his horse and broke his neck and died. And his dogs which followed him devoured his flesh and bones.

152. This Coloman, as some say, had been bishop of Oradea, but since his brothers died before him,⁷⁴² he was forced to reign, with papal dispensation. The Hungarians called him *Könyves Kálmán* because he had books in which he read the canonical hours like a bishop.⁷⁴³ After the king of Dalmatia, whose name was Peter,⁷⁴⁴ had been killed in the mountains of Petrova Gora he added the Dalmatian kingdom to Hungary. He also hired and leased galleys and ships at great cost from the Venetians and dispatched a large army to Apulia. They lay waste the country and remained there for three months. They captured the cities of Monopoli and Brindisi and left Venetians there to hold them for the benefit of King Coloman. Thence they returned to Hungary.⁷⁴⁵ The Venetians were

⁷⁴⁴ Peter Svačić, the last Croatian king reigned south of the Kapela, Gvozd Mountains, 1091–97. It is unclear whether the name of the hill (Petrova gora that is Peter's hill) has anything to do with King Peter. Petrova Gora could be identical with the Kapela, with a certain Petrova Gora near Karlovac, or with a certain hill near Knin. King Coloman really conquered the sea coast with the cities of Zadar, Trogir and Split.

⁷⁴⁵ This story is unknown from other sources; Italian chronicles refer to it through the testimony of SK. Anna Komnena (*Alexiad*, 13.12; cf. Sewter, p. 434) mentions certain *župans*, who could have been the heads of Hungarian auxiliary troops, but their identity is still debated. It is probable that this story was inserted here later from the SK, who was interested in and fairly well informed on Italian affairs.

per soldados Pisanorum^a missos per cesarem expulsis Venetis sunt rehabite.⁷⁴⁶ Regnavit autem annis XXV, mensibus VI, diebus V. Anno Domini M-o C-o XIII-o tertio Nonas Februarii, feria tertia migravit ex hoc seculo.⁷⁴⁷ Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.⁷⁴⁸

153. STEPHANUS COLOMANI FILIUS CORONATUR IN REGEM

⁷⁴⁹Potentiores regni Stephanum Colomani filium in regem coronaverunt. Erat enim adhuc inpubes, sed *spiritus eius in manibus eius*.⁷⁵⁰ Anno autem nono regni sui intravit Dalmatiam et a Dalmatiensibus honorifice est susceptus.⁷⁵¹ Inde reversus missis exercitibus suis fines Polonicos devastavit.⁷⁵² Placuit autem regno,⁷⁵³ ut rex Stephanus cum duce Bohemorum colloquium haberet. Cumque venisset ad confinium Hungarie prope [109] fluvium Orsoua et dux Bohemorum obviam illi venisset, fluvius tamen eos interiacebat.⁷⁵⁴ Erat autem Solth semper inique cogitationis auctor, qui per iniquitatem suam de Hungaria fuerat expulsus, qui tunc ibi cum Bohemis presens erat. Antequam vero rex cum duce colloquium haberet, misit Solt nuncium ad regem clamculo dicens: Fidelis sum domino meo, et quod novi de Bohemis, sibi notifico. Unde statim cum colloquium habebit cum duce, dux eum capiet, quia audivit

^a Pisanorum] Parisanorum *Ms*

⁷⁴⁶ Similar events are recorded in SK (ch. 64, p. 141), though it is not clear on what evidence they are based. The story itself is a bit obscure: Emperor Henry VI invaded Sicily in 1194 with the help of a fleet from Genoa and Pisa. SK (ibid.) mentions also William I king of Sicily (1154–1166), suggesting that later events were projected back to the age of Coloman.

⁷⁴⁷ The right year was 1116, and the length of the reign is also incorrect. February 3 was a Tuesday in 1114; in 1116 it was a Thursday.

⁷⁴⁸ Coloman must have consciously reverted to the burial site of St Stephen and his family, just as he referred to himself as the *superedificator* (“continuator”) of the laws of the founding monarch in his decree (DRMH 1: p. 24).

⁷⁴⁹ Hist. in.: Two bishops crown a king in grey doublet holding orb and long scepter (Stephen II), two persons attending.

driven out by Pisan mercenaries sent by the emperor, and the cities were repossessed.⁷⁴⁶ Coloman reigned twenty-five years, six months and five days. He departed this life in the year of our Lord 1114 on the third of February, a Tuesday.⁷⁴⁷ His body rests at Fehérvár.⁷⁴⁸

153. STEPHEN, THE SON OF COLOMAN, IS CROWNED KING

⁷⁴⁹The great men of the realm crowned Stephen, the son of Coloman, as king. He was still a boy, but *his soul was continually in his hands*.⁷⁵⁰ In the ninth year of his reign he entered Dalmatia, and he was honorably received by the Dalmatians.⁷⁵¹ Having returned thence, he dispatched his armies and ravaged the borderlands of Poland.⁷⁵² It was the pleasure of the notables,⁷⁵³ that King Stephen had a talk with the duke of the Czechs. He went to the Hungarian frontier near the river Olšava, and the duke of the Czechs came to meet him, with only the river running between them.⁷⁵⁴ A man named Solt, always a troublemaker, who for his wickedness had been expelled from Hungary, was there with the Czechs. Before the king could have had talks with the duke, Solt secretly sent a messenger to the king, saying: "I am faithful to my lord and I tell him what I have learned from the Czechs. As soon as he shall have a talk with the duke, the duke will seize him, for he has heard that

⁷⁵⁰ Ps 118: 109.

⁷⁵¹ That is, in 1124. No other evidence survives about this visit.

⁷⁵² Perhaps in 1126, cf. ch. 155, pp. 288–9 below.

⁷⁵³ The word *regnum* refers here—and also below, chs. 158, 161 (pp. 294–5, 298–9)—to the leading men of the realm. Depending on the original date of his passage, the use here may be the oldest example for this meaning, suggesting that the great men of the realm obtained ever greater influence on the affairs of the realm. *Regnum* (Hungarian: 'ország') later became equivalent with the noble diet or the "political nation" in general.

⁷⁵⁴ Olšava, a tributary of the river Morava. The Czech Duke was Vladislav I (1109–17, 1121–25).

tuos venisse sine armis. At reversus idem duci dicebat: Statim cum colloquium habueris cum rege, rex te capiet. Sed potius arma tuos et ita in castris sedeant. Bohemi ergo, sicut furibundi et bibuli, fecerunt quemadmodum illis Solt laudaverat. Et alium nuncium misit ad regem dicens: Mittat rex sagittarios circa castra ducis, ne cito ad castra sua equitare prevaleant. Rex autem, ut fuit impetuosus, fecit sicut Solt dixerat, sine suorum consilio. Bohemi videntes sagittarios venire sine dubio sciverunt veritatem esse, quod audierant. Qui impetum super sagittarios fecerunt. Bisseni atque Syculi vilissimi⁷⁵⁵ usque ad castrum regis absque vulnere fugierunt. Rex autem hoc audiens cum paucis celeriter equitavit versus Hungariam, quia sui absque armis venerant, et qui arma habebant, armare se non poterant, quia inscii regis consilii erant. Putabatque rex in consilio equalem se Salomoni, in fortitudine Samsoni, in audacia David, sed illis equalis non erat. Bohemi autem acriter devastabant castrum regis. Ianus vero filius Vrosa,⁷⁵⁶ palatinus comes longe descenderat,^a de rege. Qui cum audisset,^b silenter ac suaviter suos armavit^c et impetum super Bohemos, qui castra devastabant, fecit. *Contrivitque Dominus eos in ore gladii*⁷⁵⁷ Hungarorum et dira morte^d sauciavit.⁷⁵⁸ Misitque Ianus post regem nuncium et manifestavit illi victoriam, quam Dominus sibi dederat. Rex itaque reversus *gavisus est gaudio magno*. Sed valde doluit, quia Solt in eodem prelio mortuus non fuit, qui tanta mala mendaciis simulabat.

^a descenderat *var. Mss*] descenderant *Ms*

^b audisset *var. Mss*] audissent *Ms*

^c armavit] armaverunt *Ms*

^d dira morte *var. Mss*] dire morti *Ms*

⁷⁵⁵ For similar disparaging remarks on the auxiliary troops, see chs. above 125 (pp. 234–5) and below 165 (pp. 308–9).

⁷⁵⁶ ‘Janus’ reflects the Hungarian form, of John, ‘János.’ He was count palatine in 1108–13, perhaps still in office in the year of this battle, in 1126.

⁷⁵⁷ Biblical, several places such as 2 Kings 21: 9; Is 14: 5; Ex 17: 13.

his men have come unarmed.” But to the duke, once the messenger had returned, he said: “As soon as you shall have a talk with the king, the king will seize you. Therefore you should rather arm your men and let them be in the camp at their posts.” The Czechs, therefore, like furious and drunken men, did as Solt had advised them. Then he sent another messenger to the king, saying: “Let the king station archers around the duke’s camp to prevent him from making a sudden attack upon the king’s camp.” Without consulting his men, for he was of an impetuous nature, the king did as Solt had said, and the Czechs, seeing the archers approach, knew without doubt that what they had been told was true. They launched an attack upon the archers, and the worthless Pechenegs and Székely⁷⁵⁵ fled unharmed to the king’s camp. When he heard this, the king rode swiftly with a small company towards Hungary, since his men had come unarmed, and those who had arms could not put them to use, since they were ignorant of the king’s intentions. The king thought that he equaled Solomon in wisdom, Samson in strength and David in courage; but he was not their equal. The Czechs wrought great devastation in the king’s camp. However, Janus, son of Uros⁷⁵⁶, the count palatine, who had taken up station at some distance from the king; having heard [of this] he silently and swiftly armed his men and assaulted the Czechs as they sacked the camp, and the hand of the *Lord caused them to fall before the face of the sword*⁷⁵⁷ of the Hungarians in terrible death.⁷⁵⁸ Janus sent a messenger after the king to tell him of the victory which the Lord had given him, and the king returned and *rejoiced with exceeding great joy*. But he was much grieved that in this battle Solt had not met his death, who with his lies had caused such great harm.

⁷⁵⁸ The same battle—without any reference to the intrigue—is described by Cosmas, *Chronica* 3.42 (pp. 214–7, cf. Wolverson, pp. 230–3) asserting that the Czechs carried the day. Military historians hesitate about the authenticity of the different descriptions. According to Cosmas that battle was fought on 13 May 1116.

154. Rex autem Stephanus legitimam nolebat ducere ux[110]orem, sed concubinis meretricibus iunctus erat. Quare barones⁷⁵⁹ et optimates dolentes de regni desolatione et regis sterilitate duxerunt ei uxorem dominam nobilissimam, filiam regis Roberti Viscardi de Apulia.⁷⁶⁰

155. Venit itaque dux <Rutenorum>^{a,761} nomine Bezen ad regem et conquestus ei est, ut frater suus eum de ducatu eiecisset, rogansque regis clementiam, ut in propria persona sua ipsum adiuvaret.⁷⁶² Rex autem Stephanus volens iniuriam patris sui, regis Colomani vindicare, promisit ducem adiuvaturum⁷⁶³ et collecto exercitu ivit in Rusciam. Cumque pervenisset, primus obsedit castrum. Contigit autem summo diluculo, quod predictus dux Bezen ambulabat circa castrum providendo loca expugnandi munitiones, obsessi vero exiverant de castro causa visitandi Hungaros. Cumque dux vidisset illos, impetum fecit super illos, qui viriliter pugnantes ducem usque ad mortem vulneraverunt. Cumque rex audisset de morte ducis, indignatus est valde, et precepit omnibus Hungaris, ut castrum obpugnarent, et eodem die eligerent munitiones possidere vel mori. Principes autem Hungarie habuerunt consilium et dixerunt: Quid et quare morimur? Si ducatum vendicabimus, quem rex ex nobis constituet ducem? Stabilitum igitur sit inter nos, quod nullus castrum obpugnet, et dicamus regi, quia hec omnia absque consilio suorum principum facit. Cum vero principes venissent ad consilium regis, omnes in duas partes se transtulerunt.

^a <Rutenorum>] Teutonicorum *Ms. In margine manu XVI saeculi exeuntis Rutenorum.*

⁷⁵⁹ The term *barones* became generally used first for the royal office holders, then (beginning in the fourteenth century) for members of the major families; it seems to be the earliest use here.

⁷⁶⁰ Robert, duke of Capua (d. 1120), the name of the queen is unknown; Cristina has been proposed by some scholars. Mór Wertner (*Az Árpádok családi története* [Family history of the Árpáds], Nagybecskerek: Pleitz, 1892, pp. 229–42) argued that Stephen married Adelheid of Stefflingen, daughter of the castellan of Regensburg.

⁷⁶¹ The manuscript has “duke of the Germans,” but that makes no sense.

154. King Stephen did not wish to marry a lawful wife but took to himself concubines and harlots. Therefore the barons⁷⁵⁹ and the great men, grieving about the kingdom's sad state and the sterility of the king, brought to him as wife a lady of the highest nobility, daughter of King Robert Guiscard of Apulia.⁷⁶⁰

155. A duke of the Ruthenians,⁷⁶¹ Bezen by name, came to the king and complained to him that his brother had driven him from his duchy, and asked the king that in his clemency he would come in person to his help.⁷⁶² King Stephen, wishing to avenge the injury done to his father, King Coloman, promised the duke his assistance.⁷⁶³ Having gathered an army, he marched against Rus', and when he had reached the country, he first laid siege to a castle. Now it happened that at dawn the aforesaid Duke Bezen was going around the castle, seeking places to storm its fortifications, when the besieged came forth to spy on the Hungarians. When the duke saw them, he engaged them, but they fought bravely and mortally wounded him. When the king heard of the duke's death, he was greatly angered, and he gave orders to all the Hungarians that they should storm the castle and must choose between capturing its fortifications on this very day or dying. The great men of Hungary held a council and said: "Why and wherefore are we to die? If we win back the duchy, which of us will the king then make a duke? Let it then be resolved among us that nobody will storm the castle, and let us say to the king that he is doing all these things without the advice of his great men." When the great men came to the king's council, they

⁷⁶² Bezen perhaps could be identified as Yaroslav Svjatopolchich, who was expelled by Vladimir II Monomakh. The name "Bezen" could refer to his Pecheneg origin from his mother side. The war was fought in 1123 at the Volhinian city, Vladimir, see PSRL 2, cols. 286–8.

⁷⁶³ Referring back to the defeat of 1099, mentioned in ch. 145, above (pp. 268–71). The chronicler doesn't seem to realize that the same Russians from Galicia, who triumphed against the Hungarians in 1099, were now their allies. The "injury" may, however, have referred to the alleged infidelity of Coloman's second wife (see above, ch. 149, pp. 276–7).

Sed Cosma de genere Paznan⁷⁶⁴ erexit se dicens regi: Domine, quid est, quod facis? Si cum multitudine morte militum tuorum castrum capis, quem ducem constitues? Si inter principes tuos eligis, nullus remanet. Numquid vos vultis regno relicto habere ducatum? Nos barones castrum non obpugnabimus. Si obpugnare vis, solus pugna. Nos autem in Hungariam recedimus et nobis regem eligemus.⁷⁶⁵ Unde ex precepto principum precones in castris clamabant, ut Hungari quam citissime in Hungariam reverterentur. Rex itaque cum vidisset se suorum auxilio iuste destitutum, reversus est in [111] Hungariam. Post hec tertio anno fines Polonicos missis exercitibus devastavit.⁷⁶⁶ Deinde misit exercitum, solummodo falangos aulicorum suorum,⁷⁶⁷ partes Bulgarie et Servie devastavit.

156. Interea imperatrix Constantinopolitana, filia regis Ladizlai nomine Pyrisk⁷⁶⁸ nunciavit regi Stephano dicens regem Hungarie esse hominem suum. Quam etiam contradicentem imperator castigavit.⁷⁶⁹ Cum autem hec audisset rex, pro nimia reputavit iniuria, et collecto exercitu in impetu spiritus sui invasit partes Grece atque alias civitates Grece igne et gladio devastavit, et *cecidit timor super omnes* ⁷⁷⁰ civitates provincie illius.⁷⁷¹ Timebantque omnes reges Stephanum regem, tamquam ictum fulminis, unde infantes vagientes conminatione nomine regis Stephani quiescere conpellebantur. Habebatque rex secum septingentos milites Francos,⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁴ Mentioned also in a charter of 1113 (DHA 1: p. 392; RA Nr. 46).

⁷⁶⁵ This episode is often seen as a signal moment of the increased role of the aristocracy in the governance of the realm. This kind of *diffidatio* has no known precedent in Hungary and was not to happen later as far as we know.

⁷⁶⁶ Referring perhaps back to the story in ch. 153 (pp. 282–3), for the year 1126.

⁷⁶⁷ While no detail is known about such a royal detachment, here it is clearly mentioned as a contrast to the events of the Rus' campaign, above.

⁷⁶⁸ The daughter of Ladislav I and Adelaide, Prisca was the wife of John II Komnenos (1118–43) and died in 1134. Her son was the later emperor Manuel I (1141–80). She was the founder of the monastery of Christ Pantokrator (today the Zeyrek Mosque) and was canonized in the Orthodox Church with the name Irene (feast day on 13 August); her picture survives in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Kinnamos, *Deeds* I.9, p. 17.

were divided into two parties. Cosmas of the Pázmány kindred,⁷⁶⁴ stood up before the king and said: "Sire, what is this thing which you are doing? If with the death of a great number of your warriors you take the castle, whom will you appoint as duke? If you choose one among your great men, none would stay here. Or do you wish to abandon your kingdom and have the duchy? We barons will not storm the castle. If you wish to storm it, then fight alone. We are returning to Hungary and will elect for ourselves a king."⁷⁶⁵ Then by order of the great men the criers announced throughout the camp that the Hungarians should return as speedily as possible to Hungary. When the king thus saw himself deprived of the help of his people—and justly so—he returned to Hungary. Three years after this he sent armies to lay waste the borderlands of Poland.⁷⁶⁶ Then he sent an army, composed only of warriors of the court,⁷⁶⁷ which lay waste parts of Bulgaria and Serbia.

156. Meanwhile, the empress of Constantinople, King Ladislas's daughter, Prisca by name,⁷⁶⁸ sent a messenger to King Stephen saying that the king of Hungary is her liege man; and the emperor gainsaid and chastised her.⁷⁶⁹ When the king heard this, he considered it a gross insult; in the impetuosity of his spirit he collected an army and invaded parts of Greece, laying waste Greek cities with fire and sword and *fear fell upon all*⁷⁷⁰ the cities of the land.⁷⁷¹ All kings were in fear of King Stephen as of a thunderbolt, and crying children were frightened into silence by the threat of his name. The king had with him seven hundred Frankish⁷⁷² warriors and with

⁷⁶⁹ The sentence, as it stands, does not make sense. From the following it becomes clear that it was the emperor, who claimed being the senior of the king and the empress contradicted him for which she was reprimanded.

⁷⁷⁰ Acts 19: 17.

⁷⁷¹ Another chronicle variant mentions the capture of Niš, Braničevo, and Serdica (modern Sofia) (SRH 1: p. 434.), that was also recorded in the Annals of Pressburg for the year 1127 (SRH 1: p. 126). Cf. the similar wording in ch. 101 (pp. 192–3), above. On the role of Belgrade and Braničevo in Byzantine border protection, see Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 239–47.

⁷⁷² These foreign mercenaries cannot be identified. N.B. Byzantines and Arabs called all Westerners Franks.

cum quibus Bulgariam devastabat, et per eorum ingenia muros castrorum Grece destruebat. Ea de causa, quod imperator ad conflictum non veniebat ad ipsum, misit rex nuncium ad imperatorem Grecorum et vituperavit eum dicens, quod non esset dignus vocari imperator neque rex, sed anus et vetula, quia sicut vetula semper est in otio. Quo audito imperator respondit dicens: Indubitanter credat rex, quod sua in presenti <anno>^a simul cum umbilico virilia incidam. Ea de causa misit imperator exercitum ingentem in Hungariam.⁷⁷³ Venientesque transiverunt in Hungariam in Haram, et Hungari aliquod impedimentum facere non poterant, quia Greci per ingenia inflammabant ignes sulphureos in naves Hungarorum et eas in ipsis aquis incendebant.⁷⁷⁴ Misit itaque rex omne robur regni sui contra Grecos, quibus prefecit Setephel.⁷⁷⁵ Qui venientes pugnaverunt cum Grecis ultra rivulum Karaso versus Boron. Fuitque manus Domini cum Grecis, nec potuerunt Hungari resistere. Tanta ergo strages raro facta est, quanta ibi contigit. Rivulus enim Karasu humano sanguine in tantum mixtus fuerat, quod omnino sanguis esse putabatur. Iacebantque loricati homines in fluvio tamquam trunci, super quos fugientes [112] et persequentes transiebant rivulum quasi super pontem. Mactabantur autem Hungari tamquam boves,⁷⁷⁶ nec erat, qui redimeret eos de manibus Grecorum. Ciz vero comes⁷⁷⁷ et alii boni milites ibidem occubuerunt. Post hec imperator et rex per fideles nuncios convenerunt ad colloquendum, navigantes in insulam, que civitati Bororich proxima est. Ibi vero inter principes suos diu excusantes et incusantes, tandem pace roborata redierunt ad propria.⁷⁷⁸

^a <anno>] anus *Ms*

⁷⁷³ A summary of the events between 1127 and 1129 is given by Choniates, *O city*, pp. 11–12, and Kinnamos 1, 4–5, *Deeds* pp. 17–9); for a critical evaluation of the various sources, see Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 205–10.

⁷⁷⁴ Similar wording in ch. 104, above, pp. 200–1.

⁷⁷⁵ Neither this name (maybe a German variant, Stephekl?) nor the person is known.

these he ravaged Bulgaria, and with their engines he destroyed the walls of Greek castles. Because the emperor did not himself come to battle with him, the king sent a messenger to the emperor of the Greeks, abusing him and saying that he was not worthy to be called an emperor nor a king, but only an old woman, an aged crone that, like an aged crone is doing nothing. When the emperor heard this, he replied. "Let the king know beyond doubt that I will presently unman him up to the navel." The emperor therefore sent a great army into Hungary.⁷⁷³ They crossed into Hungary at Banatska Palanka, and the Hungarians could not prevent it because by means of engines the Greeks sent sulphurous fires against the ships of the Hungarians, setting them on fire on the very water.⁷⁷⁴ The king sent against the Greeks all the strength of his kingdom, placing Setephel at the head.⁷⁷⁵ They joined battle with the Greeks on the farther side of the small river Karaş near Braničevo. And the hand of the Lord was with the Greeks; the Hungarians could not withstand them. Rarely was there such a slaughter as at that place. So much blood of men was mingled with the river Karaş that it seemed all blood. Men in armor lay in the stream like tree-trunks, over which fleers and pursuers crossed the river as over a bridge. The Hungarians were slaughtered like oxen,⁷⁷⁶ and there was none to deliver them from the hands of the Greeks. *Ispán Csíz*⁷⁷⁷ and other good warriors fell there. Then the emperor and the king arranged through reliable messengers to come together and treat with each other; and they went by ship to an island very close to the city of Braničevo. There among their great men after long excusing and accusing, they at last established peace, and returned home.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁶ Similar wording in ch. 121, above pp. 226–7.

⁷⁷⁷ Not known from any other source.

⁷⁷⁸ Similar wording in ch. 112, above, pp. 210–1. On this kind of meeting, see Michael Grünbart, "Treffen auf neutralem Boden. Zu politischen Begegnungen im byzantinischen Mittelalter," *Byzantinoslavica* 70 (2012), pp. 140–55.

157. Rex itaque Stephanus multa mala faciebat, que non debebat, in impetu animi sui.⁷⁷⁹ Dominam Christianam conbussit et super homines cocturas cum stercore equino faciebat fieri. Cereos magnos ardentes in fundamentum hominis stillare faciebat. Dux Almus severitate regis Stephani minoris seu *mediam capitis diminutionem*⁷⁸⁰ passus fuerat. Quamvis fuisset obcecatus, tamen mortem timens de rege Stephano fugierat in Greciam.⁷⁸¹ Qui ab imperatore honorifice susceptus erat. Inposuit sibi nomen Constantinus,⁷⁸² qui et ibi iam pridem edificaverat civitatem Constantinam⁷⁸³ in Machedonia, et multi Hungari atrocitate regis Stephani fugierant ad ipsum. Quo mortuo corpus eius preceptu regis Fulbertus episcopus reportavit et in Albensi ecclesia sepelivit.⁷⁸⁴ Bela vero filius eius in Hungaria occulte tenebatur a principibus propter furorem regis. Qui omnes inito consilio regi manifestaverunt, quem post execcationem mortuum credebat. Quem cum rex veraciter scivisset vivere a Paulo episcopo et Othmaro comite,⁷⁸⁵ quorum conscientia retentus erat, *gavisus est gaudio magno*, quia absque dubio sciebat se heredem non habere. Statimque misit nuncios in Serviam et filiam Uros comitis magni in legitimam uxorem Bele traduxerunt.⁷⁸⁶ Que non post multos dies procreavit Geycham.⁷⁸⁷ Quo audito rex gavisus est valde. Disposuerat eum rex vivere in Talna, et dabantur ei regalia stipendia.

⁷⁷⁹ The more or less negative traits of the king emphasized here and above (just as regarding his father), suggest that this part of the chronicle was written in the times of the kings from the line of Álmos. Cf. below, chapters 160 sqq., pp. 296–305.

⁷⁸⁰ The chronicler here used an expression of Roman law (Inst. I. tit. 16.).

⁷⁸¹ Dated c. 1126.

⁷⁸² Hungarians who moved to Byzantium usually got a new Greek name, like Princess Prisca (see above, n. 768, pp. 288–9).

⁷⁸³ Not yet identified; although the Latin is obscure, the reference may be to a city where the blinded duke stayed.

⁷⁸⁴ This happened in 1137, when King Béla II had his body return to Fehérvár, cf. *Continuationes Cosmae Pragenses ad annum 1137* (MGH SS 9, p. 143). Fulbert was (arch)bishop of Kalocsa, his career is only fragmentary known; mentioned in 1118 (DHA 1: p. 408).

157. Thus King Stephen in the rashness of his spirit did many evil things which he ought not to have done.⁷⁷⁹ He burned to death the lady Christina, and he caused horsedung to be baked on men's bodies to cook on it and great burning wax candles to drip into their hinder parts. By King Stephen's cruelty Duke Álmos was *forced into exile*.⁷⁸⁰ Although he had been blinded, yet fearing death at the hands of King Stephen he fled to Greece.⁷⁸¹ There the emperor received him with honor and gave him the name of Constantine;⁷⁸² he had previously built in Macedonia a city named Constantina;⁷⁸³ and many Hungarians fled to him from the cruelty of King Stephen. After his death Bishop Fulbert brought back his body by the order of the king and buried him in the church of Fehérvár.⁷⁸⁴ The great men had kept his son Béla concealed in Hungary from the fury of the king. Having taken counsel together, they revealed this to the king, who believed him to have died after his blinding. When the king learned the truth from Bishop Paul and *ispán* Othmar,⁷⁸⁵ with whose knowledge Béla had been hidden away, he *rejoiced with exceeding great joy*, for he knew beyond doubt that he would have no heir. He at once sent messengers to Serbia and they brought the daughter of the Grand Župan Uroš to be Béla's lawful wife.⁷⁸⁶ Not long after she gave birth to Géza.⁷⁸⁷ When the king heard this, he rejoiced greatly. He arranged that he [Béla] should live at Tolna, and royal revenues were paid to him.

⁷⁸⁵ Paul, bishop of Győr (1137–1138?), for Othmar cf. ch. 151, above, pp. 278–9.

⁷⁸⁶ Uros I, ruler (Grand Župan) of Serbia (c. 1122–early 1140's); his daughter was called Helen.

⁷⁸⁷ Later King Géza II (reigned 1141–62).

⁷⁸⁸ A sister of St. Ladislav, who married a certain *ispán* Lampert was called Sophie and there is reference to an *ispán* of Bihar, called Saul in a contemporary charters (DHA 1: pp. 382, 386), but the relationship to King Stephen is incorrect or at least unclear. The choice of an Old Testamental royal name, in a way recalling those of Solomon and David (see ch. 100, pp. 130–1), is noteworthy.

158. Antequam vero rex Belam scivisset, coniuraverat regnum, ut post regem filius sororis sue Sophie, nomine Saul regnaret.⁷⁸⁸ Contigit autem, ut rex incideret in gra[113]vem infirmitatem Agrie, ita ut omnes mortem illi videbant. Bors vero comes et Iwan inani spe ducti a traditoribus in regem electi sunt.⁷⁸⁹ Cum autem Deo volente rex convaluisset, Ivani caput decollavit, Bors vero comitem turpiter de curia reiecit in Greciam, et ita statutum est, quod de propagine sua amplius ad curiam regiam nullus dignus esse iudicaretur intrare.⁷⁹⁰ Propter hoc principes ausi sunt reg<i>^a Belam manifestare, quia super hoc rex valde condolebat, qui sibi succederet.

159. Rex autem Stephanus diligebat Kunos tunc temporis plus quam deceret. Quorum dux nomine Tatar, qui a cede imperatoris cum paucis ad regem fugerat, cum rege morabatur. Rex autem incidit in dissenteriam.⁷⁹¹ Kuni vero, qui promissionibus regis fuerant assueti sceleribus, nec tunc minus seviebant in Hungaros. Hungari vero villani cum audissent, quod rex in mortis esset articulo, interfecerunt Kunos, qui eorum bona diripiebant. Tatar autem dux Kunorum conquestus est regi de nece suorum. Rex autem putabat anime aliquantulum alleviatum esse ab egritudine. Cumque vidisset Tatar lacrimantem ceterosque Kunos circumfusus^b lamentantes, quia supra modum diligebat eos, infremuit et dixit: Si sanitati restitutus fuero, pro uno quoque, quem ex vobis interfecerunt, decem interficiam. Nunc de vita mea non desperetis, quia convalui. Et hiis dictis

^a reg<i>] regem *Ms*

^b circumfusus] circumfulsus *Ms*

⁷⁸⁹ If this episode is correctly recorded, it would have been a unique case of the election—of two men at once!—“as king” of persons not connected to the royal dynasty. Actually this happened only in 1458 with the election of Matthias I Corvinus.

⁷⁹⁰ Note the difference between the punishments—which may imply the higher standing of Bors—and the eternal disgrace of Bors’ family. One member of the Bors kindred is regarded as related to the royal family in the twelfth century. The ban was apparently not observed, as Anon. (ch. 18, p. 49) noted a member of the Miskolc kindred among the great men of the realm. The privilege of access to court is formulated (in 1204) as *in aula regia liber conversandi facultas*, see *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner eds., Nr.15, p. 7 (Hermannstadt: Michaelis, 1892); also RA Nr. 210.

158. Before the king knew about Béla, the nobles had conspired that after his death the son of his sister Sophie, Saul by name, should reign.⁷⁸⁸ It happened that at Eger the king fell gravely ill, and all expected his death. Led on by vain hope, *ispán* Bors and Ivan were chosen by traitors as king.⁷⁸⁹ When by the will of God the king regained his health, he caused Ivan's head to be cut off and banished *ispán* Bors in disgrace from the court to Greece, and it was decreed that none of his descendants should henceforth be held worthy of admittance to the royal court.⁷⁹⁰ It was because of the king's great concern about who should succeed him that the great men took the courage to disclose Béla to the king.

159. King Stephen at this time had more love for the Cumans than was right. Their leader, Tatar by name, who with a few others had fled in fear of the emperor, was staying with the king, who was smitten with dysentery.⁷⁹¹ The Cumans, who with the connivance of the king were already then continuously committing criminal deeds against the Hungarians. But the Hungarian peasants, when they heard that the king was near the extremity of death, killed the Cumans who were plundering their goods. Tatar, the leader of the Cumans, complained to the king about the killing of his men. The king had recovered a little in spirit from his illness; and when he saw Tatar weeping and the other Cumans around him in tears, he was filled with rage because he loved them beyond measure, and he said: "If I am restored to health, for each one of your men they have killed, I will have ten killed. And do not now despair of my life, for I have recovered strength." With these words he stretched out his hands to the Cumans. They so crowded and pressed to

⁷⁹¹ They would have been Pechenegs, who were defeated by the Byzantine emperor, Ioannes Komnenos in the battle of Berrhoe in 1122. The name, referring to the Mongols, commonly called Tartars—anachronistic in the twelfth century—is puzzling; may have been the construct of a later copyist. The whole story about the conflict between the *villani* and the nomads resembles the events of 1241 (see Roger, "Epistle" in CEMT 5, pp. 147, 155). The name Tartar among the Cumans fit the custom of naming among nomads, see István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, p. 11 (Cambridge: CUP, 2005).

extendit manus suas in Kunos. Qui precipites irruerunt ad osculandum manus eius et pre nimia pressura defatigaverunt regem. Unde etiam recidivo dolore corr<e>ptus^a sublatus est de medio. Sed cum esset in articulo mortis, monachalem habitum relicto regno suscepit⁷⁹² anno regni sui X-o VIII-o⁷⁹³ et sepultus est Varadini.⁷⁹⁴

160. HIC BELA CECUS FILIUS ALMI DUCIS CECI IN REGEM LEGITIME CORONATUR



⁷⁹⁵[114] Regnavit autem post eum Bela Cacus filius ducis Almi Ceci, omnemque numerum malorum devitans bonorum operum exercitationi humiliter adherebat. Nec posuit *carnem brachii sui* in adiutorium,⁷⁹⁶ nec habuit fiduciam in homine, sed ad Altissimum posuit refugium suum, *et factus est Dominus protector eius et deduxit eum*⁷⁹⁷ in multitudine misericordie sue, *de fructu ventris sui posuit super sedem suam*.⁷⁹⁸ *Confirmatum est ergo regnum in manu*⁷⁹⁹ eius

et inimicos eius dedit Dominus in obprobrium eius usque in presentem diem.⁸⁰⁰ Genuitque quatuor filios, scilicet Geysam, Ladizlaum, Stephanum et Almu.⁸⁰¹ Quo regnante regina Elena habito consilio regis et baronum fecit congregationem generalem in regno iuxta Arad.⁸⁰² Illa igitur die dicte congregationis, dum rex sedisset super

^a corr<e>ptus] corruptus *Ms*

⁷⁹² On such deathbed conversions, see above, n. 314, p. 124.

⁷⁹³ Died and buried in 1131, actually in the sixteenth year of his reign.

⁷⁹⁴ The choice of burial site may reflect the king's esteem for his uncle, St. Ladislav, buried there.

⁷⁹⁵ Inh. in.: Full figure king in red mantle with crown, orb and long scepter (Béla II).

⁷⁹⁶ Jer 17: 5.

kiss the king's hands that they tired him out. He was seized with a return of his pain, and he was taken away from their midst. But when he was near the extremity of death, he laid aside his royal state and took the habit of a monk⁷⁹² in the eighteenth year of his reign.⁷⁹³ He was buried in Oradea.⁷⁹⁴

160. BÉLA THE BLIND, THE SON OF DUKE ÁLMOS THE BLIND, IS LAWFULLY CROWNED KING

⁷⁹⁵After him reigned Béla the Blind, the son of Álmos the Blind, who eschewed every kind of evil and humbly gave himself to the exercise of good works. He did not made *flesh his arm* as a defence⁷⁹⁶ nor did he trust in men but he put his refuge in the Highest, and the *Lord was his protector, and He led him*⁷⁹⁷ in the *abundance of His mercy* and set *the fruit of his loins upon his throne*.⁷⁹⁸ *In his hand the kingdom was established*⁷⁹⁹ and the Lord put his enemies to scorn even to this day.⁸⁰⁰ He begot four sons, namely Géza, Ladislav, Stephen and Álmos.⁸⁰¹ During his reign, after a council with the king and the barons, Queen Helen summoned a general assembly of the realm near Arad.⁸⁰² On the day of the assembly, while the king sat upon his royal throne, the queen came with her

⁷⁹⁷ Cf. Ps 17: 19–20; 68:14; 90:9.

⁷⁹⁸ Ps 131: 11.

⁷⁹⁹ 2 Chron 17: 5.

⁸⁰⁰ Cf. Ps 77: 66.

⁸⁰¹ Three of them became kings, the future Géza II, Ladislav II and Stephen IV. Álmos probably died at an early age. This enumeration of the children seems to be inserted from a summarizing earlier chronicle redaction for at that time only Géza had been born.

⁸⁰² That this assembly met at Arad (now Romania) is suggested by the fact that the collegiate chapter at Arad was abundantly endowed—or perhaps even founded—by the king (György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Hungary in the Árpád age] 1: 17 (Budapest, Akadémiai, 1987) but there were several places of that name in the kingdom. *Congregatio generalis* was the technical term for the noble diet from the thirteenth century onward.

solium regni sui, venit regina cum filiis suis et sedit circa regem. Dixit autem ad populum universum: Omnes fideles, nobiles, senes et iuvenes, divites ac pauperes, audite! Cum cuique vestrum Deus visum dederit naturalem, volo audire, cur dominus noster rex suis oculis sit privatus et quorum consilio hoc sit actum? Modo michi propalate et eos fideliter in hoc loco vindicantes nobis de ipsis finem date. Ecce enim Deus regi nostro pro duobus oculis dedit quatuor.⁸⁰³ Facta igitur hac voce irruit omnis populus super illos barones, quorum consilio rex obcecatus fuerat, et quosdam ex ipsis ligaverunt, quosdam vero detruncaverunt. Sexaginta autem et octo prophanos ibidem crudeliter occiderunt, et omnes successores eorum, tam viri quam mulieres eodem die sunt registrati.⁸⁰⁴ Insuper omnis illorum possessio ecclesiis cathedralibus est divisa, et sic omnes ville conditionales de Hungaria donationes regum nominantur.⁸⁰⁵

161. Quia vero Hungari semper fluctuant [115] iniuria, sicut mare salsum, filii namque Leviatan⁸⁰⁶ per nuncios invitabant Borith adulterum, ut veniret et eorum adiutorio regnum sibi vendicaret^a credentes ipsum esse filium regis Colomani. Borith itaque ascito Rutenorum Polonorumque auxilio venit in confinium Hungarie, in directo loco, qui dicitur Seo.⁸⁰⁷ Rex autem collecto exercitu ibat obviam ei. Plurimi autem ex nobilibus in partem Borithi cesserant. Proceres⁸⁰⁸ autem Hungarie vocati sunt ad colloquendum cum rege. Interrogavit autem eos rex, si scirent Borithium adulterum esse vel filium regis Colomani. Fideles autem regni responderunt, quod indubitanter scirent Borithium esse adulterum, et nullatenus dignum iam esse corona regis. Infideles autem et contradictores

^a vendicaret] vendicarent *Ms*

⁸⁰³ Referring to the two elder sons of the king.

⁸⁰⁴ *Proscriptio*, meaning outlaw, was a legal term, documented from 1351 as decreed on a palatinal assembly where a criminal was to be included into *registro proscriptionali* (Imre Nagy, ed., *Anjoukori okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Andegavensis* 5, p. 501 (Budapest; MTA, 1887).

⁸⁰⁵ In the legal theory of the medieval kingdom all donations of estates were royal, see DRMH 5 (Tripartitum) I, 4, 6, etc. There is no reference anywhere to a connection of royal donations with Béla II.

sons and sat next to the king. Then she spoke to the whole people: "All faithful people, nobles, old and young, rich and poor, hear me! Since to all of you God has given natural sight, I wish to hear why our lord the king has been deprived of his eyes, and by whose counsel this was done. Tell me this and in loyalty mete out to them due punishment and make an end of them for us. For, behold, to your king instead of two eyes God has given four."⁸⁰³ At these words all the people rushed upon those barons by whose counsel the king had been blinded; and some of them they bound, some they beheaded. On that day they cruelly killed sixty-eight of the infamous ones, and wrote up the names of all their issue, both male and female.⁸⁰⁴ Moreover, all their possessions were divided among the cathedral churches; and for this reason all servile villages in Hungary are called royal donations.⁸⁰⁵

161. Because the Hungarians always become turbulent like the salt sea when injury is done to them, the sons of Leviathan⁸⁰⁶ sent messengers to the bastard Boris to invite him that he should come and with their help claim the kingdom for himself; for they believed him to be the son of King Coloman. Having secured the aid of the Ruthenians and the Poles, Boris came to the borders of Hungary to the place called Sajó.⁸⁰⁷ The king collected an army and went forth to meet him. Many of the nobles went over to Boris's party. Then the great men⁸⁰⁸ of Hungary were called into council with the king. The king asked them if they knew whether Boris was a bastard or the son of King Coloman. Those who were loyal to the country answered that they knew beyond doubt that Boris was a bastard and no way worthy of the royal crown. Those who were disloyal and

⁸⁰⁶ See Job 40: 25; Ps 74: 14.

⁸⁰⁷ This incursion is dated to c. 1132., with the help of the Polish duke, Bolesław III Wrymouth. The place name seems to suggest that the two armies met at the river Sajó at the northeastern edge of the Hungarian plain, see below.

⁸⁰⁸ The term *proceres* came to be used in charters and laws as an addition to *barones* and *nobiles*, probably meaning powerful men without formal baronial status.

musitabant incerta et titubantes in duas partes claudicantes. Rex autem et consiliarii eius, quantum in ipsis erant, segregaverunt *edoss ab agnis*,⁸⁰⁹ et firmiter statuerunt, ut ibidem interficerent proditores, ne forte, si diutius differrent, traditores transferrent se ad Borith, et hoc regni ne verteretur in periculum. Orta est igitur seditio, et ibidem ceperunt Lampertum comitem,⁸¹⁰ quem cum extraxisent a rege, frater eius germanus⁸¹¹ cum sedili <quodam>^a scidit per medium caput eius, et cerebrum per scissuram exivit. Nicolaum comitem, filium eius ibidem decollaverunt, Moynolth de genere Acus⁸¹² et alios ibidem occiderunt. Residui vero ex traditoribus secesserunt in partes et collectis viribus suis volebant regem invadere. Fideles autem occurrerunt eis. Erat autem caput traditorum Tyodor de genere Symad et Folcus et Tytus et precipuus Sampson. Laudavit autem Sampson, qui erat pater comitum Thomas et Turda,⁸¹³ quod iret in conventum regis et ipsum coram multis vituperaret. Quo audito omnes laudaverunt, et ipse Borith inani spe seductus grates ei magnas retulit, et quod inceperat, hoc adimplere non simulavit putans enim de vituperatione regis regnum habere. Rex autem descenderat prope fluvium Seo, et cum sederet in papilione sua cum suis principibus et militibus, ecce Sampson intravit et regi dixit: Quid facis, vilissime canis, cum regno? Utilius est [116] domino tuo Borich regnum habere, et tu vivas in monasterio tuo, sicut vixit pater tuus. Cum vero principes regni subito commoti fuissent, Iohannes filius Otthonis, notarius regis, Symigiensis prepositus⁸¹⁴ dixit ad comitem Bud⁸¹⁵: Quid expectamus? Quare

^a *lacuna in Ms, <quodam>] add. V3*

⁸⁰⁹ Mt 25: 32.

⁸¹⁰ Lampert from the Hont-Pázmány kindred, his wife could have been the aforementioned Sophie (see above n. 788, p. 923).

⁸¹¹ His brother, namely Ipoly (Hyppolitus) is known from other source: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Tomus 1. Inde ab anno DCCCCV usque ad annum MCCXXXV*, Richard Marsina, ed. 1: p. 71 (Bratislava: SAV, 1971).

⁸¹² Majnolt also known as Magnold is mentioned in a forged charter of 1214 (DHA 1: p. 419)

⁸¹³ *Comes Folcus* is mentioned in 1157/58 (RA Nr. 90, p. 31); *Thomas comes filius Samsonis* in c. 1177 (Ibid. Nr. 128, p. 41), and *filius comitis Thome et filius Turde*

contrary minded whispered uncertain things and wavered between this side and that. The king and his counselors, as far as was in their power, separated the *sheep from the goats*,⁸⁰⁹ and firmly resolved to kill the traitors on the spot, lest they should go over to Boris if there were delay, and the safety of the kingdom should be thus imperiled. Then tumult arose, and they took prisoner *ispán* Lampert;⁸¹⁰ and as they dragged him away from the king, his brother⁸¹¹ cleft his head with a stool and the brain issued from the skull. They beheaded there his son, *ispán* Nicholas, and they put to death Mojnolt of the Ákos kindred,⁸¹² and others. The rest of the traitors first dispersed and then with their united forces wished to attack the king, but the faithful withstood them. At the head of the traitors was Theodore of the Simánd kindred, and Folcus and Titus, and above all Samson, who was the father of the *ispáns* Thomas and Torda.⁸¹³ Samson proposed to go to the assembly of the king and there openly and publicly rebuke him. Having heard that all approved and Boris himself, misled by empty hope, gave him great thanks; for he did not hide to [wish to] complete what he had begun, as he thought that after the insult to the king the kingdom would be his. The king set up camp near the river Sajó, and as he sat in his tent with his great men and warriors, behold, Samson entered and said to the king: "Vile dog, what are you doing with the kingdom? It is better that your lord Boris have the kingdom and for you to live in your monastery, as your father did." There was immediately a commotion among the great men of the realm, and John, son of Otto, the king's notary and the prior of Somogyvár,⁸¹⁴ said to *ispán* Bod:⁸¹⁵ "Why are we waiting? Why do we not seize him?" As they made to seize him, he

in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis* 1: 979–1273, ed. Nándor Knauz, 1: p. 143 (Esztergom: Horák, 1882).

⁸¹⁴ Somogy stands for the Benedictine Abbey of Somogyvár; John was royal notary (c. 1135–8) and may have been connected to Somogyvár as an officer of the abbey; see András Kubinyi, "Királyi kancellária és udvari kápolna" [Royal chancellery and royal chapel in thirteenth century Hungary], *Levéltári Közlemények* 55 (1975), pp. 62–3.

⁸¹⁵ A Bod, *ispán* of Zala, is mentioned in 1130 (RA Nr. 55, p. 20).

non apprehendimus eum? Cumque apprehendere voluissent, ille citissime equum ascendens fugiebat. Illi autem ad presens equum non habebant, qui de circulo regis ad consilium pedes venerant. Sed tamen clamor magnus fuit. Cum autem serviens comitis Bud clamorem audisset, equum sine sella ascendit, et ipsum cum lancea usque Seo persecutus est. Tyodor autem et alii socii eius volebant navem intrare, illum citissime traducere, sed usque huc non potuerunt. Samson vero equitans cecidit in fluvium, quem persecutor in fluvio lanceavit. Habebatque Sampson sub tunica panceriam, qui pre gravamine lorice natere non potuit. Borich autem cum magna multitudine Rutenorum et Polonorum castra metatus est prope ad regem. Proceres autem regni Hungarie miserunt ad ducem Rutenorum et Polonorum, qui pro Boricho venerant dicentes: Non decet vos contra iustitiam querere regnum homini adulterino. Nos enim scimus, quod de iure regnum habere debeat Bela, et ipse regnat cum consensu totius regni. Hiis auditis duces Ruscie et Polonie destiterunt amplius adiuvere Borichoni, et reversi sunt singuli in suas provincias. Borich autem cum multitudine populorum venit pugnare contra regem. Rex autem divino fretus auxilio contrivit omne robur Borichi in prelio, et fugavit illum in gladio,⁸¹⁶ conclusit exercitum Polonorum in morte⁸¹⁷ in ipsa festivitate Marie Magdalene,⁸¹⁸ accipiens spolia eorum et reversus est cum magna victoria. In ipso autem prelio acriter et precipue pugnaverunt Myksa,⁸¹⁹ Gaab et Batur et multos ex illis ceperunt et interfecerunt, eratque eorum lorica sanguine humano confecta. In hoc prelio Miksa cepit Tyodorum, *incentor<e>m^a malorum*,⁸²⁰ Vosos cepit Vitalem, Gaab vero fratrem comitis de Cracovia Polonum, Batur cepit Endre. Quos cum ad regem dux[117]issent, grates multas retulit eis et elegantissime remuneravit eos.

^a *incentor<e>m*] *incentorum Ms*

⁸¹⁶ Cf. Ps 77: 62 and 50.

⁸¹⁷ This is inconsistent with the previous statement about the Poles having left, but tallies with the capture of the Cracovian.

⁸¹⁸ On 22 July 1132.

hastily leapt upon a horse and fled. Those of the king's circle who had come to the council on foot had no horse to pursue him. But they raised a great outcry; and when one of *ispán* Bod's men heard it, he mounted a horse without a saddle and armed with a spear he pursued him to the river Sajó. Theodore and his companions wished to bring him with all speed over the river in a boat, but this they could not do. Samson plunged with his horse into the river, where his pursuer speared him. Beneath his tunic Samson was wearing a coat of mail, and because of its weight he could not swim. With a great company of Ruthenians and Poles Boris pitched his camp near the king. The great men of the Hungarian kingdom sent word to the dukes of Rus' and of the Poles who had come hither to champion Boris, saying: "It is unfitting and contrary to justice that you should seek to give the kingdom to a bastard; for we know that the kingdom belongs to Béla by right, and he rules with the consent of the whole kingdom." When the dukes of Rus' and Poland heard these words, they abstained from giving Boris further help and returned home. But Boris with a great number of people came to give battle to the king. Putting his trust in divine help, the king completely destroyed Boris's forces, put him to flight with the sword,⁸¹⁶ and shut up the army of the Poles in death⁸¹⁷ on the day of the feast of Mary Magdalene.⁸¹⁸ He took from them their booty and returned, having won a great victory. In that battle Miska,⁸¹⁹ Gáb and Bátor fought with outstanding valor, capturing and killing many, and their armor was stained with human blood. Miska took prisoner Theodore, *the promoter of evil*.⁸²⁰ Vasas took Vitalis prisoner, and Gáb the brother of the Polish castellan of Cracow, and Bátor took Andrew prisoner. When they brought them to the king, he gave them great thanks and rewarded them munificently.

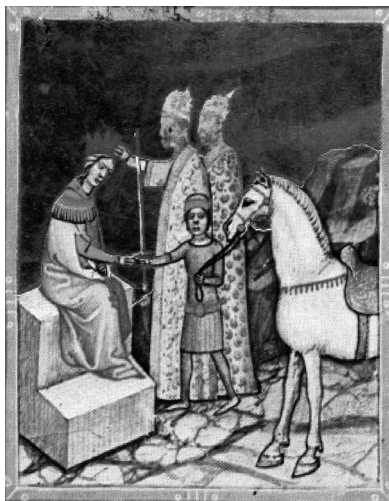
⁸¹⁹ Also mentioned in royal charters *comes Misca* in 1137 (RA Nr. 105, p. 35); Gab in 1163/64 (Ibid. Nr 104, p. 35).

⁸²⁰ 2 Macc. 4: 1.

162. Postquam autem *regnum confirmatum esset in manu*⁸²¹ regis Bele, utebatur ex vino multum. Cuius aulici consueti erant, ut quicquid in ebrietate regis petebant, habebant, et post ebrietatem rex recipere non poterat. Poch et Saul, viros religiosos in ebrietate sua tradidit in manus inimicorum suorum, qui absque causa interfecti sunt.

163. Regnavit igitur ipse Bela Cecus annis novem, mensibus XI, diebus XII. Migravit autem ad Dominum anno Domini M-o C XL-o I-o Idus Februarii, feria quinta.⁸²² Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.

164. HIC GEYSA CORONATUR IN REGEM



⁸²³Respexit autem Dominus Hungariam et dedit propugnatorem *gradientem in multitudine fortitudinis sue*.⁸²⁴ Dedit enim Dominus regnum Geythe, puero suo, qui in die Sancte Cecilie virginis coronatus est.⁸²⁵ Cuius *dextram apprehendit* et confortavit, *subiecitque ei gentes multas et dorsa regum vertit in fugam a facie gladii eius*.⁸²⁶

165. Rapolt vero miles Alamanus⁸²⁷ castrum Poson ex <im>^a

probitate⁸²⁸ Iuliani comitis⁸²⁹ ceperat, quod Hungari non pro

^a *lacuna in Ms, improbitate] add. V4*

⁸²¹ 2 Chron 17: 5.

⁸²² 13 February 1141. The same date is mentioned in the necrology of the Abbey of Admont (MGH Necr. 2, p. 291). The correct length of his reign would be 9 years, 9 months 16 days.

⁸²³ Inh. in.: Full figure of crowned youthful king (Géza II) in yellow embroidered coat armor over armor holding long scepter and empty shield.

162. After King Béla *had been established in his rule of the kingdom*,⁸²¹ he indulged himself much with wine. His courtiers found that whatever they asked of the king in his drunkenness he would grant, and after his drunkenness he could not take it back. In his drunkenness he delivered Pocs and Saul, who were in religious orders, into the hands of their enemies, and they were killed without due process.

163. Béla the Blind reigned nine years, eleven months and twelve days. He passed to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1141, on the Ides of February, a Thursday.⁸²² His body rests at Fehérvár.

164. GÉZA IS CROWNED KING

⁸²³The Lord, caring for Hungary, gave the country a defender ever *growing in the abundance of courage*.⁸²⁴ The Lord gave the kingdom to his [Béla's] child Géza, who was crowned on the feast of St. Cecilia the virgin,⁸²⁵ and He *gave guidance* and strength *to his arm*, and *He made many peoples subject to him*, and He caused to *turn the backs of kings* and *flee before his sword*.⁸²⁶

165. Rapolt, a German knight,⁸²⁷ seized the castle of Pressburg through [the wickedness]⁸²⁸ of *ispán* Julian,⁸²⁹ which the Hungarians regarded as a great treachery, and the youthful king did not

⁸²⁴ Is 63.1

⁸²⁵ Probably a misreading for the feast of Juliana dated 16 February, because St. Cecilia was venerated on 22 November. According to the other family of manuscripts, the Chronicle of Buda, he was crowned on 16 February 1141 (SRH 1: p. 453).

⁸²⁶ Is 45: 1, 21:15.

⁸²⁷ Should be identical with Luitpold, count of Plaien (see Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici* I: 30, MGH SSrG 46, p. 47; cf. Mierow, *The Deeds*, pp. 64–5.

⁸²⁸ Lacuna of one word. Based on the reading of one of the other manuscripts, the missing word is probably '*improbitate*.'

⁸²⁹ A member of the royal retinue, at that time possibly the *ispán* of Pressburg.

modica habuerunt <periuria>^a. Sed rex adolescens ea non silenter quievit.⁸³⁰ Duxit enim rex exercitum contra furorem Teutonicorum⁸³¹ insultantium et Hungarie [118] confinia devastantium. Quamvis enim cesar⁸³² in propria persona non venerat super regem, universum fere robur regni Teutonicorum ad extirpandam Hungariam comoverat. Herricus autem quidam dux Austrie, principalis adversarius regis omnes bellatores de Saxonia et de Bavaria secum adduxerat.⁸³³ Erat enim tutor <pupilli>^b ducis Herrici Leonis, cui Saxonia et Bavaria hereditarie^c conpetebant.⁸³⁴ Congregati sunt itaque Teutonici in multitudine fortitudinis sue confidentes et, sicut gygantes, steterunt contra Hungaros. Rex autem cum universo exercitu suo posuit spem suam in Deo, et ordinatis agminibus cepit ire contra hostes suos. Sed et sacerdotes et levite cunctique clerici, qui aderant, in *spiritu contribulato et corde contrito*⁸³⁵ implorabant adiutorium Domini nostri Iesu Christi et presidia sanctorum angelorum et maxime invocabant clementiam Dei genitricis Virginis Marie, cuius patrocinio beatus rex Stephanus Hungariam specialiter commendavit.⁸³⁶ Rex autem accinctus est gladio et *gloria Domini apparuit*⁸³⁷ super eum, *confortatumque* est ilico *cor* eius divinitus,⁸³⁸ et ipse robustior factus quam prius, exhilarata est facies eius et totus alacer ibat in prelium.⁸³⁹ Cumque appropinquasset Guncel quidam authenticus, qui utramque linguam eorum bene noverat, nunciavit regi, quod exercitus Teutonicorum appropinquaret. Et dixit optimum tempus esse regi, ut irrueret super eos, quia pauci sunt, et non omnes, quos in adiutorium vocaverant, venissent. Tunc rex cum omni exercitu suo acceleravit super eos trans

^a <periuria>] penuria *Ms*

^b <pupilli>] populi *Ms*

^c hereditarie *var. Mss*] hereditario *Ms*

⁸³⁰ The conflict took place in April 1146; see *Continuatio Admuntensis*, ad annum 1146, MGH SS 9: p. 581.

⁸³¹ See above ch. 71, pp. 130–1 and elsewhere.

⁸³² Conrad III, German king (1138–52) but not emperor.

⁸³³ Henry II Jasomirgott, Markgrave of Austria (1141–77) and Duke of Bavaria (1143–56).

endure it in silence.⁸³⁰ He led an army against the fury of the Teutons,⁸³¹ who were attacking Hungary and lying waste its borderlands. Although the emperor⁸³² did not come in his own person against the king, yet he set in movement almost the entire strength of the German realm in order to wipe out Hungary. Henry, a duke of Austria, the chief adversary of the king, brought with him all the fighting men of Saxony and Bavaria.⁸³³ He was the guardian of the orphan Duke Henry the Lion, to whom Saxony and Bavaria belonged by hereditary right.⁸³⁴ Trusting in their overwhelming strength, the Germans gathered together, and arrayed themselves like giants against the Hungarians. The king with all his army placed his hope in God, and having ordered his columns he advanced against the enemy. With *contrite and humble heart*,⁸³⁵ the priests and the deacons and all the clergy who were present implored the help of our Lord Jesus Christ and the protection of the holy angels, and especially they invoked the clemency of the mother of God, the Virgin Mary, to whose patronage Hungary had been particularly commended by the blessed King Stephen.⁸³⁶ The king was girded with a sword and the *glory of the Lord appeared upon*⁸³⁷ him, and his *heart received divine comfort*,⁸³⁸ his strength was increased, and his face brightened, and with all eagerness he went into battle.⁸³⁹ When he drew near the enemy, a trusted man named Göncöl, who knew well the language of both sides, informed the king that the German army was approaching; and he said that this was the best time for the king to attack them, for they were few in number, and not all of those summoned to their help had yet arrived. Then the king hastened over the Hungarian border against

⁸³⁴ Duke Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony (1139–80) and of Bavaria (1156–80).

⁸³⁵ Ps 50: 19.

⁸³⁶ For the commendation of the realm to Mary by the holy king see ch. 70, p. 129, n. 357.

⁸³⁷ Num 14: 10 and many times elsewhere in Scripture.

⁸³⁸ Judith 15: 11.

⁸³⁹ Royal knightng ceremonies are mentioned only twice before 1301, cf. also ch. 41, pp. 84–5 above.

metas Hungarie. Teutonici vero quasi gygantes obstupebant in equis arduis et optimis, superbi et abusione insultantes inpetebant Hungaros, ut contumeliis suis terrorem eis incuterent. Hungari vero ex adverso appropinquaverunt⁸⁴⁰ ad prelium, et intonuerunt buccinis et clangerunt <classicis>,^a et *clamaverunt ad Dominum*, et *clamor* vociferantium *ascendit in celum*⁸⁴¹ et belligerentium et commissum est prelium. Bisseni vero pessimi et Siculi vilissimi omnes pariter fugierunt, sicut [119] oves a lupis, qui more solito preibant agmina Hungarorum.⁸⁴² Tunc etiam priusquam Hungari conflare cepissent, quedam agmina Hungarorum perterrita sunt a furore Teutonicorum. Prevaluerunt Teutonici Hungaros in initio bellici conflictus, qui sicut heretici circa principia semper fervescunt et in fine tepescunt. Tunc avunculus domini regis, Beleban nominatus, gloriosus in milibus suis,⁸⁴³ irruens super agmina Teutonicorum percussit eos ex adverso graviter et magnam stragem fecit in illis. Sed electi milites regis impetum fecerunt in hostes: gravatum est prelium contra Teutonicos et fortitudo eorum dissipata est, et corruerunt *in ore gladii* plus quam septem milia bellatorum, residui vero fugierunt. Salvavit igitur Deus Hungaros in die illa de faucibus draconum crudeliter sevientium. Ibi usque adeo contritum est robur Teutonicorum, quod nec rusticis Hungaris in confini<o>^b eorum habitantibus aliquam iniuriam seu quodcumque gravamen inferre presumpserunt. Rex autem divina gratia felici potitus victoria, simul cum universa gente sua benedixit et glorificavit Deum. In eodem autem prelio comes Uros cepit comitem Rapolt Teutonicum, qui iam pridem nocturnis insidiis castrum Poson occupaverat, et Gabriel Accionem.⁸⁴⁴ Post

^a <classicis>] classcitis *Ms*

^b confini<o>] confinium *Ms*

⁸⁴⁰ The battle took place on 11 September 1146 at the river Leitha, also recorded by Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici* 1. 31–32, (MGH SSrG 46, pp. 48–51; cf. Mierow, *The Deeds*, pp. 67–9).

⁸⁴¹ Ex 2: 23

⁸⁴² On these remarks see ch. 125 (pp. 234–5 above).

⁸⁴³ Ban Belus (Beloš Vukanović) of Serbia (d. 1163), brother of Queen Helen, a prominent actor in the Hungarian political theater, several times count palatine

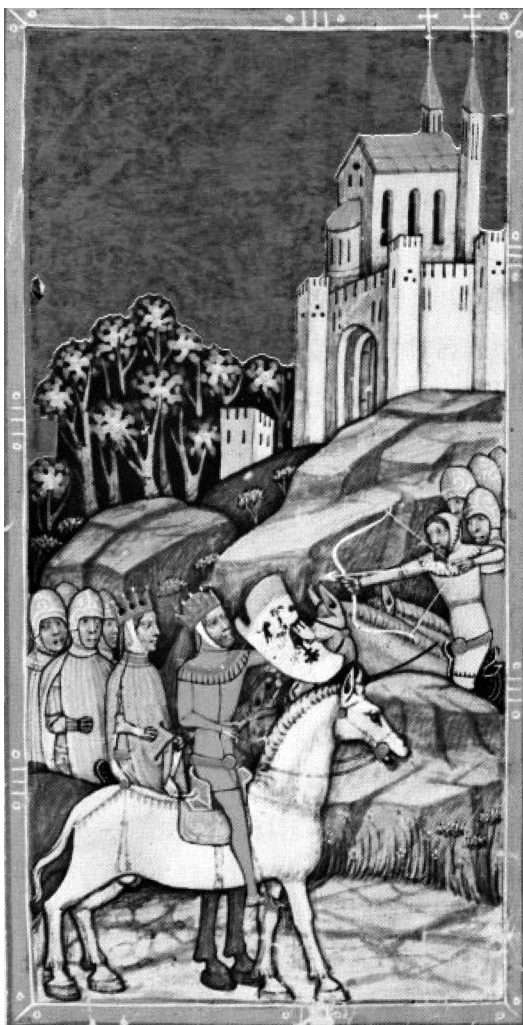
them with all his army. Seated like giants upon their magnificent great horses, the Germans were an amazing sight, and proudly they hurled abuse and insults against the Hungarians in order to strike terror into their hearts. Confronting them the Hungarians approached for battle;⁸⁴⁰ they sounded the trumpets and blew the horns, and they called upon the Lord; and *the cry* of shouting warriors *went up unto God*,⁸⁴¹ and battle was joined. All the wretched Pechenegs and the worthless Székely, who, as usual, went before the Hungarian army, took to flight like sheep before the wolves.⁸⁴² Then, even before the conflict was begun, some of the Hungarian columns were terrified by the fury of the Teutons. The Germans, like heretics who at first are all on fire and at the end grow tepid, at the beginning of the struggle held the mastery over the Hungarians. Then the lord king's uncle, called Ban Belus, a renowned warrior among thousands,⁸⁴³ charged with his men from the rear into the German ranks, fell on them heavily and inflicted on them great slaughter. When the king's picked warriors came into action against the enemy, then the battle turned against the Germans and their strength failed. More than seven thousand of their fighters fell *beneath the edge of the sword*, and the rest fled. Thus God saved the Hungarians on that day from the cruel jaws of raging dragons. There the strength of the Germans was so broken that from then on they did not even dare to do any hurt to the Hungarian peasants who lived near their borders or to molest them in any way. Thus by divine grace the king gained a felicitous victory, and together with all his people he blessed and glorified God. In the same battle *ispán* Uros took Count Rapolt prisoner, the German who had previously in a treacherous attack by night occupied the castle of Pressburg, and Gabriel took Accio prisoner.⁸⁴⁴ After

between 1146–57, then ban of Slavonia from 1157. He left Hungary in 1157 but returned briefly in 1163 and got involved in the civil war in favor of Prince Stephen (in 1163 anti-king Stephen IV).

⁸⁴⁴ Gabriel was a well-known member of the royal retinue between 1148 and 1158; Accio is unknown, in other manuscripts he is mentioned also as Otto.

hec in diebus illis fames afflixit Hungariam, que magnam partem hominum in morte obsorbuit.⁸⁴⁵

166. CESAR CORRARDUS PER HUNGARIAM VADIT IEROSOLIMAM



⁸⁴⁶[120] Circa etiam eadem tempora Cor-
rardus cesar⁸⁴⁷ iter
faciens Ierosolimam
per Hungariam, Hun-
garie vero non Christi
peregrinus apparuit,
in qua non pacem,
sed potius iram tiran-
nidis, predonis exer-
cuit. Nam petitionis
simulatione inventa
aditum, a regno Hun-
garie pecuniam non
modicam extorsit, ita
ut nulla mater eccle-
sia sive monasterium
totius Hungarie rema-
neret, de quo pecunia
non extraheretur et
peregrinanti cesari pre
timore non offerretur.
Cuius cesaris preces-
sum egregius rex Fran-
corum⁸⁴⁸ venerabiliter
et, ut decet Christi
peregrinum, subsecu-
tus a rege Geycha ho-
norabiliter susceptus

these things, a famine afflicted Hungary in those days, carrying off a great part of the people.⁸⁴⁵

166. THE EMPEROR CONRAD MARCHES THROUGH HUNGARY TO JERUSALEM

⁸⁴⁶About this same time the Emperor Conrad⁸⁴⁷ passed through Hungary on his way to Jerusalem; yet he did not appear in the country as a peaceful pilgrim of Christ, but displayed the wrath of a tyrant and a plunderer. For having by a deceitful request obtained passage through the land, he extorted no small sum of money from the Hungarian kingdom; there was no mother church and no monastery in all Hungary from which money was not extracted or offered out of fear to the pilgrim emperor. After the emperor had passed through the country, he was followed by the excellent king of the Franks⁸⁴⁸ who behaved with respect and as becomes a pilgrim of Christ and he was received with honor by King Géza. He stayed with the king for some time, and became his kinsman as godfather of his children, and as the bond of their love was drawn closer, King Géza gave him

⁸⁴⁵ Fritz Curschmann, *Hungersnöte im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Wirtschaftsgeschichte des 8.-13. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900; repr. Aalen: Scientia 1970), does not mention it.

⁸⁴⁶ Hist. in.: Crowned king in red mantle (Louis VII) gesturing speech with crowned king holding orb and scepter in red doublet (Géza II).

⁸⁴⁷ King Conrad III joined the Second Crusade in 1147.

⁸⁴⁸ Louis VII, king of France (1137–80). Odo of Deuil describes the events slightly differently, see, Odo of Deuil, *The Journey of Louis VII to the East: de Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, Elizabeth Brown, Virginia G. Berry, eds. and transl., pp. 35–9 (New York: WW Norton & Co, 1948) (reprint 1965).

est. Apud quem aliquamdiu conmoratus conpaternitatis vinculo regi Geyche sociatur, et tali dilectionis nodo^a internexo multis muneribus a rege Geycha honeste conducitur, preter omnem regni molestiam Hungarie fines cum suo exercitu in Greciam penetravit. Postmodum autem rex Geycha referente quodam milite suo nomine Gurk audiuit, quod Borich adulterus^b regis Colomani esset in comitatu regis Francie, misitque ad eum dicens: Non est bonum^c reddere malum pro bono,⁸⁴⁹ nec insidiantem vite mee vestrum erat defendere. Hiis auditis facta est contentio inter reges Francorum, querebant enim milites eius, quisnam esset inter eos, qui mortem regis machinaretur, ut inventus ab hiis interficeretur. Borich autem venerat consilio quorundam Hungarorum, ut si ipse regnum intrare posset, tunc a multis pro domino haberetur et relicto rege ei multi adhererent. Qui vero cum talia audisset, statim ad pedes regis Francorum se prostravit, vitam ab eo et veniam rogaturus, ut eum absque lesione extra regnum cum eo ire permitteret. Cumque rex Geycha audisset Borich apud regem Francorum, roga<vit>^d eum, ut pro amicitia sua Bori[121]chium ei vinctum remitteret. Cumque hoc rex Francorum audisset, dixit: Noverit rex, quod domus regis quasi ecclesia, pedes eius quasi altare, et quomodo possum reddere vinctum eum, qui ad domum galem, quasi ad ecclesiam et ad pedes regis, quasi ad altare se prostravit?⁸⁵⁰ Cui nuncius ait: Quoniam magistri nostri sic interpretantur, ut adulterinam progeniem ecclesia non communicat.⁸⁵¹ Borich autem videns sibi mortem imminere ea nocte rapuit unum dextrarium regis Lodouici et aufugit. Quidam autem de agazonibus occurrens ei, voluit eum tenere, quem Borich cum gladio percutiens, a vertice usque ad medium pectus eius descendit et ipse manus sequentis evasit.

^a dilection<is> <n>odo] dilectione modo *Ms*

^b adulterus] adulterius *Ms*

^c bonum] bonorum *Ms*

^d roga<vit>] rogans *Ms*

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. Prov 17: 13; also Gratian Decr. 2.23.2.3.1.

⁸⁵⁰ The king of France referred to the right of asylum in Christian churches, see ch. 151, n. 741; Karl Shoemaker, *Sanctuary and Crime in the Middle Ages, 400–1500* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011).

many gifts and an honorable escort on his way; and without causing harm of any kind to the kingdom he crossed the borders of Hungary with his army into Greece. Afterwards King Géza heard through the report of one of his warriors, named Györk, that Boris, the bastard son of King Coloman, was in the company of the king of France to whom the king sent a message, saying: "It is not good to return evil for good,"⁸⁴⁹ nor was it fitting to take into your protection him who plots against my life." When they heard of this, strife arose among the knights of the king of the Franks for they asked who it was among them that was plotting the king's death, in order that they might find and kill him. But Boris had come with the king of the Franks on the advice of certain Hungarians, who said that if he could make his way into the kingdom, many would take him for their lord and, deserting the king, would cleave to him. When Boris heard of these matters, he at once prostrated himself at the feet of the king of the Franks, asking him to spare his life and grant him pardon, and to allow him to go with him out of the kingdom without hurt. When King Géza heard that Boris was with the king of the Franks, he asked in the name of their friendship that Boris should be bound and delivered up to him. The king of the Franks replied: "Let the king know that a king's house is like a church, his feet like an altar, and how then shall I send back bound him who has come into the royal house as into a church and has prostrated himself before the king's feet as before the altar?"⁸⁵⁰ The messenger said to him that, "according to the teaching of our doctors, adulterous offspring has no place in the church."⁸⁵¹ Seeing himself in danger of death, Boris that night took one of the horses of King Louis and fled. One of the stablemen ran to meet him and wanted to get hold of him, but Boris struck at him with his sword and cleft him in twain from the head to the middle of his breast, and so escaped from the hands of his pursuer.

⁸⁵¹ Cf. *Decretales Gregorii IX*, Bk. 1, tit. 6, c. 7. ; *IX*, Bk. 1, tit. 17, c. 1.

167. Post hec autem rex Geycha dedit ducales expensas fratribus suis Ladizlao et Stephano,⁸⁵² duxitque exercitum in Rusciam super Lodomerium ducem, ut vindicaret iniuriam soceri sui Minosloy,⁸⁵³ pro quo etiam iam pridem miserat exercitum, qui male tractatus fuerat a Rutenis et Cunis.

168. Regnavit autem annis viginti, mensibus tribus, diebus XV. Migravit autem ad Dominum anno Domini M-o C-o LX-o I-o pridie Kalendas Iunii, feria quarta.⁸⁵⁴ Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.⁸⁵⁵

169. STEPHANUS CORONATUR

⁸⁵⁶Loco eius coronatur Stephanus filius eius et regnavit annis XI, mensibus novem, diebus tribus.⁸⁵⁷ In cuius imperio dux Ladizlaus filius regis ceci⁸⁵⁸ usurpavit sibi coronam dimidio anno. Migravit autem ad Dominum anno Domini M-o C LXXII-o Kalendas Februarii, feria prima.⁸⁵⁹ Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.

⁸⁵² The later kings, Ladislav II (1162–63) and Stephen IV (1163–65).

⁸⁵³ Mstislav I of Kiev (1125–32), father of Géza's queen, Eufrozina. The Hungarian army interfered six times after 1148 into the internal struggles of Rus' dukes; in 1151, in favor of the duke of Kiev, Iziaslavl, Géza's brother-in-law, but was defeated; see PSRL 2, cols. 348–85; see Márta Font, *Völker – Kultur – Beziehungen: zur Entstehung der Regionen in der Mitte des mittelalterlichen Europa*, trans. Gábor Frank, pp. 123, 125 (Hamburg: Kovač, 2013).

⁸⁵⁴ In fact, he died in 1162 (in which year May 31 was a Thursday), and thus reigned 21 years; the Necrology of Admont (MGH Necr. 2, p. 297 as 'Kautse') confirms the date.

⁸⁵⁵ Géza and his immediate successors (down to 1204) returned to Fehérvár as the royal necropolis, most likely because they had no time and means to found a monastery for their resting place.

167. After these things, King Géza granted ducal revenues to his brothers Ladislav and Stephen,⁸⁵² and he led an army into Rus' against the duke of Vladimir in order to avenge the injury done to his father-in-law, Mstislav,⁸⁵³ for whose sake he had already sent an army which had been dealt with roughly by the Ruthenians and the Cumans.

168. He reigned twenty years, three months and fifteen days. He passed to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1161, on Wednesday, May 31.⁸⁵⁴ His body rests at Fehérvár.⁸⁵⁵

169. STEPHEN IS CROWNED

⁸⁵⁶In his place was crowned his son Stephen, and he reigned eleven years, nine months and three days.⁸⁵⁷ During his reign, Duke Ladislav, son of the blind king,⁸⁵⁸ usurped the crown for half a year. He passed to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1172, on February 1, a Sunday.⁸⁵⁹ His body rests at Fehérvár.

⁸⁵⁶ Hist. in.: King (Stephen III) on throne-bench in red mantle, holding orb, is being crowned by a bishop, accompanied by another and a man in Oriental peaked hat and caftan handing over long sword.

⁸⁵⁷ Stephen III was crowned after 31 May 1162 and died 4 March 1172. The regnal years' count is incorrect.

⁸⁵⁸ The blind king was Béla II. Ladislav reigned as Ladislav II between the summer of 1162 and January 1163.

⁸⁵⁹ The date is unclear; February 1 was a Wednesday in that year.

170. STEPHANUS USURPAT SIBI CORONAM



⁸⁶⁰[122] Post hunc autem Stephanus frater eius usurpavit sibi coronam mensibus quinque.⁸⁶¹ Coronatus est autem tertio Idus Februarii, in Dominica *Exsurge*,⁸⁶² devictus est autem in festo Sanctorum Geruasii et Protasii feria tertia, ubi nobiles Hungarie corruerunt.⁸⁶³ Post hec expulsus est de regno.

Obiit in castro Zemlen anno Domini M-o C LXXIII-o tertio Idus Aprilis, feria quinta. Cuius corpus Albe quiescit. Idem vero rex Stephanus filius Geyse migravit ad Dominum anno Domini M-o C LXXIII quarto Nonas Marcii, feria prima.⁸⁶⁴ Cuius corpus Strigonii quiescit.

171. BELA TERTIUS CORONATUR

⁸⁶⁵Postea regnavit Bela frater eius,⁸⁶⁶ qui fures et latrones persecutus est et petitionibus loqui traxit originem, ut Romana habet curia et imperii.⁸⁶⁷ Qui coronatus est in diebus Ianuarii, feria prima.⁸⁶⁸ Regnavit autem annis XXIII, mense uno, diebus XIX. Obdormivit autem in Domino anno eiusdem M-o C XC VI. Kalendas Maii, feria tertia.⁸⁶⁹ Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁰ Inh. in: Full figure of prince in royal ermine-lined mantle but “ducal” cap and sword (Stephen IV).

⁸⁶¹ Stephen IV was crowned on 27 January 1163, and reigned less than five months.

⁸⁶² This Sunday was 19 February.

⁸⁶³ He was defeated by Stephen III, on 19 June not far from Fehérvár. He died in 1165 on a Sunday, and his body was transferred from Zemun to Fehérvár only at a later, unknown date. His activities were described in detail in another chronicle version, used by the fourteenth-century German work of Heinrich von Mügeln (SRH 2: pp. 200–203).

170. STEPHEN USURPS THE CROWN

⁸⁶⁰After him, his [Ladislas's] brother Stephen usurped the crown for five months.⁸⁶¹ He was crowned on February 11, on *Exsurge* Sunday,⁸⁶² and he was defeated on the day of the feast of SS. Ger-vasius and Protasius, on a Tuesday on which day many nobles of Hungary perished.⁸⁶³ He was then banished from the kingdom. He died in the castle of Zemun in the year of our Lord 1173, on April 11, a Wednesday. His body rests at Fehérvár. The other King Stephen,⁸⁶⁴ the son of Géza, went to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1173, on March 4, a Sunday. His body rests at Esztergom.

171. BÉLA THE THIRD IS CROWNED

⁸⁶⁵Then reigned Béla, his brother,⁸⁶⁶ who pursued thieves and robbers, and he introduced the practice of submitting petitions as was customary in the Roman and imperial court.⁸⁶⁷ He was crowned in January on a Sunday.⁸⁶⁸ He reigned twenty-three years, one month and nineteen days. He fell asleep in the Lord in the year 1196, on May 1, a Wednesday.⁸⁶⁹ His body rests in Fehérvár.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁴ Stephen III died a year earlier, on 4 March 1172, Wednesday.

⁸⁶⁵ Inh. in.: Full figure of crowned king (Béla III) in golden doublet, holding orb and red-and-silver-barred flag.

⁸⁶⁶ Béla III (1172–96), brother of Stephen III.

⁸⁶⁷ These instructions are credited to King Béla IV by Master Roger of Oradea, a contemporary of the king; see Roger, "Epistle" in: CEMT 5, pp. 145–6. The chronicler may have confused the two homonymous kings as there is no evidence for this measure before mid-thirteenth century.

⁸⁶⁸ Béla III was crowned on 13 January 1173, on a Saturday. Other manuscripts confirm this date.

⁸⁶⁹ He died 23 April 1196, on a Tuesday. This date is given in a manuscript of the Buda Chronicle family, the Necrology of Admont (MGH Necr 2, p. 295) gives April 24. He reigned 23 years, 3 months, 10 days.

⁸⁷⁰ The only royal sarcophagi surviving in Fehérvár are those of Béla and his second wife; today the skeletons are in the Matthias Church in Budapest, the sarcophagi at Fehérvár.

172. EMERICUS CORONATUR



⁸⁷¹[123] Cui successit Emericus filius eius et regnavit annis VIII-o mensibus VII, diebus VI.⁸⁷² Huius uxor Constantia filia regis Arragonie cesari Frederico per consilium apostolici copulatur.⁸⁷³ Migravit autem ad Dominum anno Domini M-o CC pridie Kalendas Decembris, feria III.⁸⁷⁴ Cuius corpus requiescit in ecclesia Agriensi.

173. LADIZLAUS SECUNDUS CORONATUR⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁶Post eum regnavit Ladizlaus filius eius et coronatus est VII-o Kalendas Septembris, feria quinta.⁸⁷⁷ Regnavit autem mensibus VI, diebus V. Migravit autem ad Dominum anno eiusdem M-o CC-o primo Nonis Maii.⁸⁷⁸ Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.

⁸⁷¹ Inh. in: Full figure of crowned king (Béla III) in golden doublet, holding orb and red-and-silver-barred flag.

⁸⁷² King Emeric, Hungarian Imre, (1196–1204) according to the given length of his reign was crowned immediately after his father's death, 24 April 1196. (designated as king as early as 1182, during the lifetime of his father).

172. EMERIC IS CROWNED

⁸⁷¹He was succeeded by his son Emeric, who reigned eight years, seven months and six days.⁸⁷² Emeric's wife Constancia, daughter of the king of Aragon, married on the advice of the Holy See the emperor Frederick.⁸⁷³ Emeric passed to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1200, on November 30, a Thursday.⁸⁷⁴ His body rests in the church of Eger.

173. LADISLAS THE SECOND IS CROWNED⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷⁶After him reigned his son Ladislás, who was crowned on August 26, a Thursday.⁸⁷⁷ He reigned six months and five days. He departed to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1201, on May 7.⁸⁷⁸ His body rests in Fehérvár.

⁸⁷³ Constance, daughter of King Alfonso II of Aragon (1164–96), as a widow married the German king and emperor, Frederick II (1212–1250) in 1209, allegedly persuaded by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216).

⁸⁷⁴ In fact, he died in 1204, on a Tuesday, probably earlier than November.

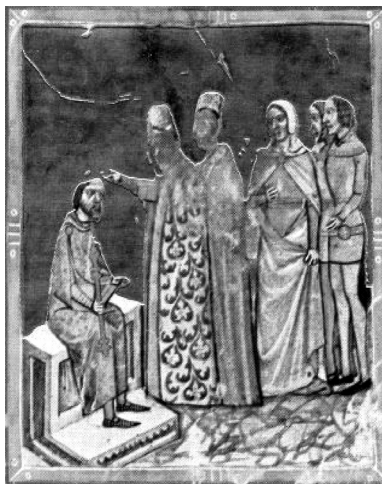
⁸⁷⁵ If the usurper Ladislás II (1162–63) is counted among the Hungarian rulers, as modern historians do, he was Ladislás III.

⁸⁷⁶ Inh. in: Youthful king, crowned, holding orb and long scepter (Ladislás III) in stepping pose.

⁸⁷⁷ The child Ladislás was crowned during the lifetime of his father, on 26 August 1204, a Thursday.

⁸⁷⁸ According to another chronicle version he died on 3 May 1205, the other numbers are also incorrect.

174. ANDREAS PATER SANCTE ELYZABETH CORONATUR IN REGEM



⁸⁷⁹[124] Huic successit Andreas filius Bele tertii, qui Andreas coronatus est vicesimo septimo die post obitum regis Ladizlai, quarto Kalendas Iunii in Penthecostes.⁸⁸⁰ Cuius uxor fuit domina Gertrudis de Alania, de qua genuit Belam, Colomanum, Andream et Be-
atam Elyzabeth.⁸⁸¹ Sed pro-
dolor, humani generis inimico
procul dubio suadente uxorem
Bank bani, magnifici viri, do-
mina memorata vi tradidit cui-

dam suo fratri hospiti deludendam. Quam ob causam idem Bank banus de genere Bor oriundus suum gladium in regine sanguine miserabiliter cruentavit, et diro vulnere sauciatam anno Domini M-o CC XII. interfecit. Cuius corpus in monasterio griseorum monachorum de Pelis tumulatur.⁸⁸² Pro cuius nece *vox flebilis insonuit* ⁸⁸³ in tota Pannonia et in omni genere Bank bani execrabilis et horrend<a>^a sanguinis effusio subsequuta.⁸⁸⁴

^a horrend<a>] horrendus *Ms*

⁸⁷⁹ Inh. in: Full figure of crowned king (Andrew II) in golden doublet and cape, holding orb and a red flag with double cross.

⁸⁸⁰ King Andrew II (1205–35) was crowned in 1205, but the king himself counted his regnal years from 1204, when he escaped the prison of King Emeric.

⁸⁸¹ Andrew married Gertrud, the daughter of the Duke of Meran, Bertold IV of Andechs (1188–1204) c. 1200, their children were Mary (d. 1237) not mentioned here, the future king, Béla IV (1235–70), St. Elisabeth (d. 1231), Coloman, King of Halič (d. 1241) and Andrew (d. 1234).

⁸⁸² A Cistercian monastery founded by King Béla III in 1184 in the Forest of Pilis, where fragments of the queen's tomb were discovered in 1967. Unspecified

174. ANDREW, FATHER OF ST. ELIZABETH, IS CROWNED KING

⁸⁷⁹He was succeeded by Andrew, the son of Béla III, who was crowned on the twenty-seventh day after the death of King Ladislas, at Pentecost, May 29.⁸⁸⁰ His wife was the lady Gertrud of Germany, by whom he begot Béla, Coloman, Andrew and the blessed Elizabeth.⁸⁸¹ But alas, this lady, without doubt yielding to the persuasions of the enemy of the human race, by force handed over the wife of that great man Ban Bánk to a guest, one of her brothers, who violated her. Therefore Ban Bánk, of the Bor kindred, cruelly stained his sword with the blood of the queen, and she died of her grievous wounds in the year of our Lord 1212. Her body is buried in the monastery of the Grey Monks at Pilis.⁸⁸² At her killing there was the *sound of lamentation*⁸⁸³ throughout all Pannonia and there followed dreadful and terrible shedding of the blood of all the kinsmen of Ban Bánk.⁸⁸⁴

parts of her body were buried in the Premonstratensian monastery of Lelesz (today Leles, Slov.), see Tamás Körmendi, "Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei" [The circumstances of the murder of Queen Gertrude], in: Judit Majorossy, ed., *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára: Merániai Gertrud emlékezete, 1213–2013*. [To the Margin of a Historical Murder. Commemorate Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, 1213–2013], pp. 95–124, 312–313. (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014.)

⁸⁸³ Sap 18:10.

⁸⁸⁴ The queen was murdered on 28 September 1213 in the royal forest of the Pilis—or, as recently suggested, in the Patak Forest—by nobles provoked by the overwhelming influence of the queen's courtiers. The story about the queen as procurer and her rapist brother has a complicated history. It was told for the first time with similar motifs in the *Chronicon rhythmicum Austriacum* ca. 1270 (MGH SS 25, p. 355) that may have influenced our chronicler, see Wolfgang Schule, *Tod einer Königin: Gertrud von Andechs-Meranien, Königin von Ungarn 1205–1213, Mutter der Hl. Elisabeth* (Neckenmarkt: Novum Pro, 2009). Bánk: of the Bár-Kalán kindred was count palatine at that time and did not participate in the assassination. He remained in high offices until 1235, when Béla IV dismissed him in revenge of the alleged murderers of his mother. The chronicler's description may have been influenced by a similar bloody attack at the royal court in 1330, cf. chs. 205–7, pp. 364–7, below.

175. ANDREAS VADIT IHEROSOLIMAM

⁸⁸⁵Post hec rex Andreas Terram Sanctam visitavit ad mandatum domini pape.⁸⁸⁶ Quod mandatum acceperat dum esset adhuc dux, sicut habetur *Extra* de voto et voti redemptione *Licet universis*.⁸⁸⁷ Quia ipse conplevit et redemit votum patris. Et ibi in Terra Sancta super exercitum Christianorum contra soldanum Babilonie capitaneus et dux preficitur et mox victor efficitur gloriosus. Mansit autem^a tribus mensibus.⁸⁸⁸ Regali denique thesauro exposito diversorum sanctorum per ipsum reliquie comparantur: caput videlicet sancti prothomartyris Stephani et caput Beate Margarete virginis et martyris,⁸⁸⁹ [125] dextera Beati Thome apostoli et Sancti Bartholomei. Item de virga Aaron et una de sex idriis illis, in quibus Christus mutavit aquam in vinum et alie multe, quas potuit tunc congregare. Reversusque in Hungariam cum pretiosis thesauris sanctorum, regnum autem suum reinvenit in prospero statu.⁸⁹⁰ Non tamen hoc suis meritis, sed sanctorum, quorum reliquias afferebat, ascribi voluit. In occursum ergo regis Benedictus filius Ega, cancellarius regine⁸⁹¹ omnes prelatos ecclesie conpellebat. Modo autem illas reliquias sanctas specialiter ille ecclesie habent, quarum prelati regi venienti obviam occurrerunt. Transactis itaque novem annis rex generosam Elyzabet filiam suam nobili viro Lodovico Turingie lantgravio copulavit.⁸⁹² Qui post multos annos similiter cruce signatus devote Ierosolimam pergens ibidem migravit

^a autem ibidem *add. var. Mss*

⁸⁸⁵ Hist. in: Troop of knights lead by crowned king (Andrew II) on bay horse [damaged] under red flag with double cross.

⁸⁸⁶ King Andrew inherited the crusader vow of his father, what he fulfilled with a considerable delay in 1217–1218, with his crusade to the Holy Land.

⁸⁸⁷ *Licet universis* is a decretal of Pope Innocence III issued on 29 January 1198 on the legal character of the crusader vows, incorporated later into the *Liber Extra* (or *Decretales Gregorii*) c. 1230. It is worth noting that the author of this otherwise terse report refers in detail to Canon Law.

⁸⁸⁸ The Hungarian contingent arrived there by sea in October 1217 and left it on land during January. They fought at the siege of Mount Tabor and in the region of Mashgara; see James R. Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169–1218," *The International History Review* 3 (1981), pp. 467–481.

175. ANDREW GOES TO JERUSALEM

⁸⁸⁵After these things, King Andrew went to the Holy Land, as he had been charged by the pope.⁸⁸⁶ He had accepted this charge while still a duke in accordance with *Licet universis* in *Extra* concerning vows and the fulfillment of vows.⁸⁸⁷ He thus fulfilled and redeemed the vow made by his father. In the Holy Land he was appointed captain and leader of the army of the Christians against the Sultan of Babylon, and soon he won a glorious victory. He remained there three months.⁸⁸⁸ At the end of this time he acquired on the expense of the royal treasury relics of divers saints: namely, the head of Stephen the Protomartyr, the head of the blessed Margaret, virgin and martyr,⁸⁸⁹ and the right hand of the blessed Thomas the apostle and of St. Bartholomew. He also bought a piece of Aaron's rod and one of the six vessels in which Christ changed the water into wine, and as many other relics as he could gather together at that time. With these precious relics of the saints he returned to Hungary. He found his kingdom in a prosperous state.⁸⁹⁰ He wished this to be ascribed, however, not to his own merits, but to the merit of the saints whose relics he was bringing into the country. Benedict, son of Ega, the chancellor of the queen,⁸⁹¹ ordered all the prelates of the church to meet the king; and the holy relics were presented especially to those churches whose prelates had gone forth to meet him. After nine years had passed, the king gave his noble daughter Elizabeth in marriage to the lord Ludwig, margrave of Thuringia.⁸⁹² He also, after many years, devoutly journeyed in the sign of the cross to Jerusalem, where he departed to Christ. His feast day is solemnly

⁸⁸⁹ St Margaret of Antioch (d. 304?).

⁸⁹⁰ In fact, the country was in a desperate political situation, with a growing opposition supporting his young son, Béla; that was probably one of the reasons of the king to return so soon.

⁸⁹¹ Unknown person.

⁸⁹² Louis IV, Margrave of Thuringia (1217–27) married Elisabeth (d. 1231) in 1221.

ad Christum. Cuius festum Ierosolimis devote celebratur.⁸⁹³ Migravit autem rex Andreas ad Dominum anno Domini M-o CC-o XXX-o V-o, tricesimo anno regni sui. Cuius corpus in monasterio de Egrus feliciter requiescit.⁸⁹⁴

176. REX BELA QUARTUS CORONATUR

⁸⁹⁵Rex Bela post eum filius eius coronatus est pridie Idus Octobris, feria prima, qua cantatur *Da pacem Domine*,⁸⁹⁶ in cathedrali ecclesia Beati Petri Albe, quam ipse consecrari fecit,⁸⁹⁷ Colomano duce fratre eiusdem ensem regalem ad latus ipsius honorifice tenente, Daniele vero duce Rutenorum equum suum ante ipsum summa cum reverentia ducente.⁸⁹⁸ Regnavit autem XXXV annis.

177. ADVENTUS PRIMUS TARTARORUM



Anno Domini M-o CC-o XLI-o ipso Bela regnante Mangali sive Tartari⁸⁹⁹ cum quinquiescentenis [126] milibus armatorum⁹⁰⁰ regnum Hungarie invaserunt. Contra quos Bela rex iuxta flumen Seo prelians vincitur, in quo prelio fere extinguitur militia regni Hungarie

⁸⁹³ He died in Italy and never got to the Holy Land. There is no such known feast day.

⁸⁹⁴ A Cistercian monastery east of Cenad, founded by King Béla III in 1179, where Andrew's second wife, Yolanta of Courtenay was also buried in 1233.

⁸⁹⁵ Hist. in.: Seated king (Béla IV) in long mantle, holding scepter and orb being crowned by two bishops attended by a duke (Coloman) in red doublet holding up a sword.

celebrated at Jerusalem.⁸⁹³ King Andrew departed to the Lord in the year of our Lord 1235, in the thirtieth year of his reign. His body rests peacefully in the monastery of Igrış.⁸⁹⁴

176. KING BÉLA THE FOURTH IS CROWNED

⁸⁹⁵After him his son Béla was crowned king on October 14, on the Sunday on which is sung "*Da pacem, Domine*."⁸⁹⁶ The coronation took place in the cathedral church of the blessed Peter in Fehérvár, which he had caused to be consecrated.⁸⁹⁷ At his side his younger brother, Duke Coloman, bore the royal sword with due honor, and Daniel, duke of the Ruthenians, with fitting reverence led his horse before him.⁸⁹⁸ He reigned thirty-five years.

177. THE FIRST COMING OF THE TATARS

In the reign of Béla, in the year of our Lord 1241, the Mongols, that is,⁸⁹⁹ the Tartars invaded the kingdom of Hungary with five hundred thousand armed men.⁹⁰⁰ King Béla gave battle against them on the river Sajó, but he was defeated, and the entire army of the kingdom of Hungary was there almost wholly destroyed. Béla himself, fled towards the sea pursued even there by the Ta-

⁸⁹⁶ King Béla IV (1235–1270) was crowned on a Sunday, but the "*Da pacem Domine*" prayer was sung on the 18th Sunday after Pentecost, in 1235 two weeks before.

⁸⁹⁷ The St. Peter church was a parochial and not a cathedral church in Fehérvár but seems to have always played a role in the coronations as the first stop of the king coming from the basilica.

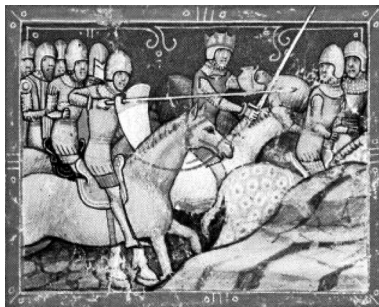
⁸⁹⁸ Coloman, the younger brother of Béla IV, cf. ch. 174; Daniel, called also Danilo, Danil Romanović was duke, from 1235 King of Galicia, often supported militarily by King Andrew II.

⁸⁹⁹ Because of awkward lay-out of the codex, the first half of the sentence was written before the chapter head (rubric).

⁹⁰⁰ The most reliable estimate of the Mongol armies is less than one hundred thousand.

universa. Ipso vero Bela rege ad mare fugam faciente Tartari usque ibi ipsum crudeliter insecuntur.⁹⁰¹ Manserunt enim ipsi Tartari in regno Hungarie tribus annis.⁹⁰² Et quia seminare illis temporibus non potuerunt Hungari, ideo multo plures post exitum illorum fame perierunt, quam illi, qui in captivitate<m> ducti sunt et gladio ceciderunt. Post hec autem rex Bela reversus est de maritimis partibus et ducem Austrie Fredericum, virum bellicosum⁹⁰³ ante Novam Civitatem gens occidit in prelio Hungarorum et transfixit per maxillam. Licet tamen idem dux ceciderit in hoc bello, Bela rex prefatus triumphum cum Hungaris perdidit.⁹⁰⁴

178. PUGNAT REX CUM OTHOCARIO



⁹⁰⁵Post hec idem rex anno Domini M-o CC-o LX-o congregavit exercitum copiosum contra Othacarum regem Bohemorum⁹⁰⁶ circa Moraviam una cum filio suo Stephano et Alpra duce Cumanorum. Sed victus fugit circa Haymburg III-o Idus Iulii. Erat enim vir pacificus, sed in exercitibus et preliis minime fortunatus.⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰¹ The battle took place at Muhi near to the river Sajó on 11 April 1241, where the royal army was defeated, but the king could escape, and fled to the Adriatic Sea, as far as the city and island of Trogir. The details of the Mongol invasion of Hungary are described by both Roger (Roger, "Epistle" in: CEMT 5, pp. 157–227) and Thomas of Split (*History*, CEMT 4, pp. 253–305).

⁹⁰² In fact the Mongols left the country in March 1242.

⁹⁰³ Frederick II, Babenberg, Duke of Austria and Styria (1230–1246) nicknamed the Quarrelsome. Actually Frederick had extorted a significant sum from Béla while he was escaping the Mongols (see Roger, "Epistle" as above, pp. 193–7).

tars.⁹⁰¹ The Tatars remained in Hungary for three years.⁹⁰² And because during that time they could not sow their fields, the number of the Hungarians who perished of hunger after the departure of the Tartars was greater than the number of those who were carried away into captivity or fell beneath the sword. King Béla then returned from the parts near the sea; and Frederick, duke of Austria, a warlike man,⁹⁰³ was killed in battle with the Hungarian people before Wiener Neustadt, being pierced through the throat. But although the duke fell in the battle, the said King Béla and the Hungarians did not gain the victory.⁹⁰⁴

178. THE KING FIGHTS AGAINST OTAKAR

⁹⁰⁵Thereafter, in the year of our Lord 1260, the king, together with his son Stephen and with Alpra, leader of the Cumans, gathered a large army and marched towards Moravia against Otakar, king of the Czechs.⁹⁰⁶ But he was defeated and fled towards Hainburg on July 13. For he was a man of peace, but (*sic!*) in the conduct of armies and battles the least fortunate.⁹⁰⁷

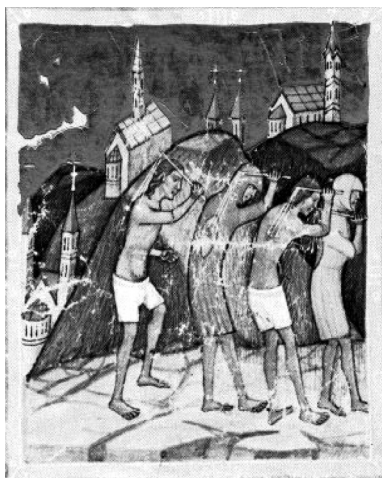
⁹⁰⁴ He was killed 15 June 1246 at the river Leitha, and with him the dynasty of Babenberg died out in the male line. It seems that the miniature below the next rubric refers to this battle and not to the war with Ottokar.

⁹⁰⁵ Inh. in. Full figure of crowned king in purple mantle with orb and long scepter (Béla IV).

⁹⁰⁶ Prince Stephen, the eldest son of Béla IV (designated as king in 1245, called *rex junior* from 1262, ruled 1270–1272); Alpra (or Alpar) leader of the Cumans settled in Hungary after the Mongol invasion; Otakar (variant Ottokar) II, Přemysl, was Czech king 1253–78.

⁹⁰⁷ The battle was fought on 12 July, not far from Hainburg, at a village called Groisensburg near Marchegg. The Babenberg heritage and the lordship over Styria (for a while held by Duke Stephen) was disputed between the opponents, and after the lost battle the Hungarians gave up their claims. The chronicler is right; King Béla lost all the battles during his long reign.

179. FLAGELLAT SE POPULUS



[127] Ipsius etiam tempore, anno Domini M-o CC-o LX-o III-o plebs flagellis se feriendo universaliter discurrerat.⁹⁰⁸

Obiit autem anno Domini M-o CC-o LXX-o V-o Nonas Maii, feria VI-a, in festo Inventionis Sancte Crucis in insula Budensi, et sepultum est corpus eius Strigonii in ecclesia Fratrum Minorum constructa ad honorem Virginis gloriose, quam ipse dominus rex Bela adhuc vivens sumptuoso opere

et pulchro fecerat incoari.⁹⁰⁹ Ubi cum domina regina consorte sua, Maria nomine, filia imperatoris Grecorum et duce Bela filio suo carissimo feliciter requiescit. Vir virtutibus plenus, cuius *memoria quasi mel* dulcorosum usque in diem hodiernum *in ore omnium*⁹¹⁰ Hungarorum et aliarum plurium nationum suavescit. Cuius corpus Philippus archiepiscopus Strigoniensis de ecclesia memorata auferri exhumando fecerat contra iura, et in sua ecclesia cathedrali indebite tumulari. Super quo facto coram supremo pontifice causa diutius ventillata Fratres Minores cum honore maximo rehabere ex integro meruerunt⁹¹¹ et coram Virginis ara gloriosius condiderunt, ubi hii pulchri versus continentur: ASPICE REM CARAM, TRES CINGUNT VIRGINIS ARAM, REX, DUX, REGINA, QUIBUS ASSINT GAUDIA TRINA. Et sequitur: DUM LICUIT, TUA DUM VIGUIT,

⁹⁰⁸ The Flagellants were a recurrent Christian movement, one of its outbreaks expected the arrival of the age of the Holy Spirit after 1260; see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, pp. 128–9 (Oxford: OUP, 1970 [orig. 1957]).

179. THE PEOPLE FLAGELLATE THEMSELVES

At his [Béla's] time, in the year of our Lord 1263, the common people roamed everywhere about the country beating themselves with whips.⁹⁰⁸ He [King Béla IV] died in the year of our Lord 1270, on May 3, a Friday, on the feast day of the Finding of the Holy Cross, in the island of Buda, and his body is buried at Esztergom in the church of the Friars Minor which king Béla himself in his lifetime caused to be erected in costly splendor and beauty in honor of the glorious Virgin.⁹⁰⁹ There he rests in peace with his consort the queen, Mary by name, daughter of the emperor of the Greeks, and Duke Béla, his beloved son. He was a man full of virtues, and his *memory until this present day is as sweet as honey in the mouths of all* ⁹¹⁰Hungarians and of many other nations. Philip, archbishop of Esztergom unrightfully caused his body to be exhumed from the aforesaid church and to be wrongfully buried in his own cathedral church. Against this action the Friars Minor pleaded for a long time before the supreme pontiff, and they managed to have a most honorable and full restoration made to them;⁹¹¹ and adorned the place of entombment before the altar of the Virgin with more splendor, containing these beautiful verses: "See this dear sight, three ring the Virgin's altar: king, duke, and queen, whom threefold joys attend." Then fol-

⁹⁰⁹ May 3 was a Saturday, and not a Friday in 1270. The *Necrologium of Oberaltaich* (MGH Nscr 3, p. 297) gives May 2. The island of Buda hosted a Dominican nunnery, where the blessed Princess Margaret (d. 1270), the daughter of King Béla IV lived, and a Franciscan convent founded by the king. The convent of the Friars in Esztergom was founded in 1224, and richly donated by Béla IV.

⁹¹⁰ Eccles 49, 2. The author of this chapter and/or his source may have been Franciscan: they held Béla saintlike (*sanctus Bela nondum canonizatus*) so by Bartholomew of Pisa, Italian Franciscan and chronicler, in his "De conformitate vitae B. P. Francisco ad vitam domini Nostri Jesu Christi" (Conformitates), first printed at Milan in 1510, ed. *Analecta Franciscana* 4 (1906), pp. 309–310.

⁹¹¹ Archbishop Philip (1262–72) tried to transfer the royal tombs—those of Prince Béla, who died in 1269, the king and his wife, Mary (died in 1270), the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nikaia (1204–22)—to the cathedral, but the Friars brought an action against him in Rome which he lost.

REX BELA, POTESTAS, FRAUS LATUIT, PAX FIRMA FUIT, REGNAVIT HONESTAS.⁹¹²

180. STEPHANUS FILIUS BELE CORONATUR

⁹¹³Post ipsum anno Domini M-o CC LXX. cepit regnare filius eius Stephanus super totam Hungariam.⁹¹⁴ Qui Othacarum regem Bohemorum in Hungariam cum Bohemis, Australibus, Bramburgensibus ac ceteris mixtis gentibus cum potentia venientem ante fluvium Rapcha devicit viriliter [128] ac fugavit.⁹¹⁵ Preterea Budun civitatem Bulgarorum expugnavit et Bulgaros superavit, regem eorum sibi compulit deservire.⁹¹⁶ Regnavit autem duobus annis et mortuus est in anno tertio regni sui in Magna insula, et sepultus est in ecclesia Beate Virginis in insula Budensi in loco beginarum.⁹¹⁷

181. LADIZLAUS FILIUS STEPHANI CORONATUR IN REGEM

⁹¹⁸Cui successit Ladizlaus filius eius et coronatus est eodem anno, quo mortuus est pater eius, videlicet anno Domini M-o CC-o LXX-o II-o.^{a, 919} Qui imperatore adiuvante circa Moraviam occi-

^a *In margine manu XVI saeculi ineuntis 1272, VI manu eadem sive coaeva correcta in II*

⁹¹² Written in leonine hexameter, probably not carved on the stones. Some fragments of the red marble tombs were recently discovered in the city without any inscription. The text of the epitaph is closely related to several others, such as that on the tomb of King Edward I in Westminster Abbey; Geoffrey Martel II (d. 1060) in Angers and Gautier de Cournot (d. 1241) in Sens.

⁹¹³ Hist. in: Younger person (Stephen) being crowned by older crowned king (Béla IV) and queen (Mary), all wearing ermine lined robes.

⁹¹⁴ Reigned 1270–72, the chronicle refers to the fact that Stephen as *junior rex* governed earlier the eastern part of the country.

⁹¹⁵ Otakar attacked Hungary in 1271, but after significant Czech military victories he was finally defeated by King Stephen on 21 May, and they came to a peace agreement in Pressburg on 2 July. The Margrave of Brandenburg was his brother-in-law.

low these verses: “As long as might thy power, King Béla, last, fraud hid itself, peace flourished, virtue reigned.”⁹¹²

180. STEPHEN, SON OF BÉLA, IS CROWNED

⁹¹³After him, in the year of our Lord 1270, his son Stephen began to rule over all Hungary.⁹¹⁴ When Otakar, the king of the Czechs, with a force of Czechs, Austrians, Brandenburgians, and divers other peoples, marched in force into Hungary, Stephen valiantly defeated him at the river Rábca and put him to flight.⁹¹⁵ He also stormed Vidin, a city of the Bulgarians, and subdued the Bulgarian people and compelled their king to serve him.⁹¹⁶ He reigned for two years, and he died in the third year of his reign on the Great Island; he is buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin on the island of Buda, at the place of the Beguines.⁹¹⁷

181. LADISLAS, THE SON OF STEPHEN, IS CROWNED KING

⁹¹⁸His son Ladislav succeeded him and was crowned in the same year as his father died, namely the year of our Lord 1272.⁹¹⁹ With

⁹¹⁶ The Hungarian political and military presence in Bulgaria goes back to Rostislav (d. 1262), son-in-law of King Béla IV, who governed North Bulgarian territories, and gained the Bulgarian imperial title in 1257. His successor, Jacob Svendslav surrendered to Stephen, the “younger king of Hungary” in 1266, after Stephen with Hungarian troops occupied among others Vidin, and fought five victorious battles.

⁹¹⁷ The Great Island, a royal domain, is today Csepel Island. He was buried in the Dominican nunnery, where his beloved sister, Margaret (d. 1270) lived and died. The term “Beguines” is perhaps a belittling phrasing of the chronicler, perhaps a (Franciscan) rival of the Dominicans.

⁹¹⁸ *Inh.* in: Full figure of crowned king, wearing long red Oriental caftan and peaked hat, holding orb and scepter (Ladislav IV).

⁹¹⁹ Reigned 1272–90.

dit regem Othocarum supradictum in prelio.⁹²⁰ Postea cum anno Domini M-o CC LXXXII-o Oldamir dux Cumanie congregato exercitu Cumanorum circa lacum Hood vocatum volens hostiliter regnum invadere Hungarorum, ut suo dominio subiugaret.⁹²¹ Contra eum rex Ladizlaus, ut fortis Iosue pro gente sua et regno pugnaturus accessit. In cuius exercitu Lorandus filius Thome, miles strenuus contra Cumanos lanceavit cum impetu virtutis sue et laudabiliter percussit plurimos et prostravit.⁹²² Postea cum prelium committeretur inter partes fortissimum, subito et inopinate ex divina clementia pluvia grandis exoritur contra faciem paganorum, et qui in arcubus sperabant et sagittis,^a propter ymbrium densitatem⁹²³ iuxta propheticum facti sunt ut stercus terre.⁹²⁴ Et sic rex Ladizlaus victoriam obtinuit divino fretus auxilio.

182. SECUNDA VICE INTRANT TARTARI⁹²⁵



Tandem postea pauci de ipsis Cumanis, qui evaserant, ad Tartaros fugientes, quorum instinctu Tartari anno Domini M-o CC-o LXXX-o V-o secunda vice [129] intraverunt in Hungariam, et usque Pesth⁹²⁶ universa

miserabiliter conbusserunt. Iste enim rex Ladizlaus filiam regis Karoli de Apulia in coniugium habebat, sed spreto thoro coniugali filiabus adhesit Cumanorum. Cyduam, Cupchech et Mandulam

^a sagittis] sagitta *Ms*

⁹²⁰ The Battle of Dürnkrut (or Marchfeld) is described in detail in SK ch. 74, pp. 151–5. Of course, there is no evidence that King Ladislav would have killed the Czech ruler.

⁹²¹ The battle was fought between March and May 1282 not far from Hódmezővásárhely. The Cumans with their leader Oldamir (Oldamu) rebelled against the restrictions imposed by the papal legate, and tried to leave the country.

⁹²² Roland of the Borsa kindred was with short interruptions voivode of Transylvania between 1282–97.

the help of the emperor he killed the aforesaid Otakar in battle near to Moravia.⁹²⁰ Then in the year of our Lord 1282 Oldamir, leader of the Cumans assembled an army of Cumans near the lake which is called Hód with the intention to invade and make subject the kingdom of the Hungarians.⁹²¹ King Ladislas, like the brave Joshua, went out against him to fight for his people and his realm. In his army was a brave warrior named Roland, son of Thomas, who hurled himself with his spear upon the Cumans with impetuous courage and to his great renown smote them and struck them down in great numbers.⁹²² A most fierce battle was joined between the two armies, but by divine clemency a sudden and unexpected shower of rain drove in the faces of the pagans, and the downpour was so heavy⁹²³ that they who had put their hope in bows and arrows became, as in the words of the prophet, as dung for the earth.⁹²⁴ Thus King Ladislas, trusting in divine help, obtained victory.

182. THE TATARS INVADE FOR THE SECOND TIME⁹²⁵

A few of the Cumans who escaped sought refuge with the Tartars, and it was at their instigation that in the year of our Lord 1285 entered Hungary for the second time and spread a terrible devastation of fire throughout the whole country as far as Pest.⁹²⁶ King Ladislas had married the daughter of King Charles of Apulia. But he spurned the marriage-bed and cottoned to daughters of the Cumans, whose names were Csidva, Csüpcsecs, and Mandula, and he took many other concubines; and through love of them *his heart became* deservedly de-

⁹²³ Similar "meteorological" divine intervention is mentioned above ch. 76, pp. 144 to 145, above.

⁹²⁴ Cf. Ps 82: 11.

⁹²⁵ Here again the rubric was written in mid-sentence.

⁹²⁶ The attacking Mongols were defeated in several skirmishes by the Hungarian forces between February and March 1285, among others by the Voivode Roland.

vocatas ac alias quamplures in concubinas habebat, quarum amore *cor eius est merito depravatum*⁹²⁷ et a suis baronibus et regni nobilibus odio habebatur.⁹²⁸

183. FIRMANUS LEGATUS INTRAT

⁹²⁹Hinc insuper contra eum, quia Cumanice et non catholice conversabatur, Philippus Firmanus, sedis apostolice legatus advenit,⁹³⁰ qui barbas radere, crines detruncare contra mores Hungaricos et pilleos Cumanicos, quorum usus in Hungaria iam in consuetudine habebatur, abicere demandabat.⁹³¹ Regem etiam anathematis vinculo feriens, ut paganos odiret, ritum Christianorum diligeret et thoro viveret coniugali.⁹³² Sed nichil in rege proficiens repatriavit.

184. REX LADIZLAUS INTERFICITUR

⁹³³Post hec in brevi ipse rex anno Domini M-o CC-o IX-o C-o feria secunda proxima ante festum Sancte Margarethe virginis et martyris prope castrum Kereszeg ab ipsis Cumanis, quibus adheserat, est miserabiliter interfectus.⁹³⁴

185. Tempore enim istius regis Ladizlai cepit Hungaria a sua magnifica gloria reflecti, ut casus flebiles et eventus inferius ostendent. Ceperunt namque intestina^a bella con[130]surgere, civitates con-

^a intestina] in ea testina *Ms*

⁹²⁷ 1 King 11: 3–4.

⁹²⁸ Ladislas married the daughter of Charles I Anjou, king of Naples (1266–85), Isabella, named Elisabeth in Hungary in 1269. The spelling of the name of king's Cuman lovers is uncertain, a manuscript variant reads *Csídva as Edua*.

⁹²⁹ Hist. in: Cardinal (Philip) on white horse, accompanied by knight riding left to right.

⁹³⁰ See Gergely Kiss, “Les légats pontificaux en Hongrie aux XIII^e-XV^e siècles” in: *Les légats pontificaux. Paix et unité de l'Eglise, de la restructuration grégorienne à l'aube du Concile de Trente (mi XI^e - mi XVI^e siècle)*, H. Millet et P. Montaubin eds., (Turnhout, Brepols, forthc.).

praved,⁹²⁷ and he was hated by his barons and the nobles of the kingdom.⁹²⁸

183. THE LEGATE FROM FERMO ARRIVES

⁹²⁹Since, because his manner of life was Cuman and not Catholic, the legate of the Apostolic See, Philip of Fermo arrived against him⁹³⁰ and demanded that the shaving of the beard and the cutting of the hair in a manner contrary to Hungarian custom, and the wearing of Cuman caps which was now a habit in Hungary, should be abandoned.⁹³¹ He also commanded the king under pain of excommunication that he should hate the heathen, love the Christian rites and respect the marriage-bed.⁹³² But having effected nothing with the king, he returned home.

184. KING LADISLAS IS KILLED

⁹³³Not long afterwards, in the year of our Lord 1290, on the Monday before the feast of St. Margaret, virgin and martyr, the king suffered near the castle of Cheresig a miserable death at the hands of those very Cumans whom he loved so much.⁹³⁴

185. In the time of king Ladislas Hungary began to decline from its splendid glory, as will be seen from the lamentable events and happenings presently to be related. For internal wars now began

⁹³¹ "Cuman" headgear may be the one visible on the title page, worn by the group left of the king.

⁹³² The legate excommunicated the king in October 1279; he left Hungary without any success in 1282.

⁹³³ Hist. in: Under a white tent, decorated with crests (double cross and red-silver bars), a bleeding king with scepter in peaked hat (Ladislas IV) is observed (left) by two peak-hatted (Oriental) warriors with lances.

⁹³⁴ He died on 10 July 1290 and was buried in Cenad.

fringi, ville per combustiones ad nichilum redigi, pax et concordia penitus conculcari, divites deficere et nobiles rusticari pre inopia paupertatis. Illo tempore biga, scilicet duarum rotarum vehiculum a regni incolis currus regis Ladizlai d*<i>*cebatur^a, quia propter continua spolia animalia vehicula trahentia defecerant in regno, sed homines more pecorum bigis iuncti vices animalium inpendebant.⁹³⁵

186. DUX ANDREAS DE VENECIIS IN HUNGARIAM INDUCITUR

⁹³⁶Post cuius regis mortem eodem anno XVIII-o die Andreas dux de Veneciis coronatur.⁹³⁷ Qui vivente adhuc Ladizlao rege adductus in Hungariam fuerat.⁹³⁸ Cuius Andree regis ortum et originem videamus, qua ratione meruerit coronam regni Hungarie accipere. Cum enim rex Andreas secundus, pater quarti Bele regis et Colomani ducis, mortua prima uxore sua vel potius interfecta, ut superius dictum est,⁹³⁹ mare ad mandatum ecclesie transfretasset in Terram Sanctam ad expugnandum pro sepulchro Domini, ibi victor existens revertebatur feliciter cum honore. Tandem in Ytaliam applicuit et quadam vice apud marchionem Estensem est magnifice hospitatus.⁹⁴⁰ Ille vero marchio cognoscens regem esse viduum, filiam suam excellenter pulchram et bene ornatam conspectui regis

^a d*<i>*cebatur] ducebatur *Ms*

⁹³⁵ See Engel, *The Realm*, p. 207–9.

⁹³⁶ Hist. in: Figure in “ducal” cap (Prince Andrew) riding, accompanied by an older and a younger person.

⁹³⁷ 23 July 1290.

⁹³⁸ Andrew first entered the country briefly in May 1278 led by John Kőszegi; then at the beginning of 1290 invited again by him and Archbishop Lodomer of Esztergom; he was captured and taken into custody by Albert I, duke of Austria and Styria (1282–1308); from there he escaped after the death of Ladislas, in July 1290.

⁹³⁹ Ch. 174, pp. 320–1.

to break out, the cities began to be bought to ruin, the villages to be utterly destroyed by fires, peace and concord to be completely shattered, the wealthy to decay and the nobles to be reduced into poverty and need to the condition of peasants. At that time the two-wheeled cart was called by the people “King Ladislas’ cart” because owing to the continual devastations there was such a scarcity of draught-animals in the kingdom that men were used in their place and harnessed before the carts.⁹³⁵

186. PRINCE ANDREW IS BROUGHT FROM VENICE TO HUNGARY

⁹³⁶In the same year, on the eighteenth day after the death of the king, Prince Andrew of Venice was crowned.⁹³⁷ He had been brought into Hungary while King Ladislas was still alive.⁹³⁸ Let us see what was the birth and origin of this King Andrew, and by what reason he deserved to receive the Hungarian crown. After the death or rather, as has been told above,⁹³⁹ the murder of his first wife, King Andrew II, father of King Béla IV and of Duke Coloman, crossed the seas to the Holy Land, as charged by the church, to fight for the sepulcher of our Lord, and as victor he happily returned thence with honor. Then he landed in Italy, and at one point was offered magnificent hospitality by the marquis of Este.⁹⁴⁰ Knowing that the king was a widower, the marquis presented his

⁹⁴⁰ Andrew II came back via the Balkans from the Holy Land (for his crusade see ch. 175, pp. 322–3, above), but in fact married the daughter, Beatrice (d. 1245) of Azzo VII, margrave of Este (1212–64) six years later, on 14 May 1234 (see RI V,2,4 n. 13167, in: *Regesta Imperii Online*, URI: http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1234-05-14_1_0_5_2_4_3058_13167; vidimus 01.02.2014). She left Hungary after the king’s death at the beginning of 1236, and abroad gave birth to Stephen (d. 1272). He was brought up in Ferrara, and the future king, Andrew III was a fruit of his marriage with Tomasina Morosini. Stephen, and his son were until the death of Ladislas IV not recognized as legitimate heirs of the ruling Árpád dynasty in Hungary, and never by the popes in Rome.

astare fecit. Rex vero videns eam pulchram et suis oculis gratiosam, cum absque hoc ducere vellet uxorem, cum eadem domicella eodem die contraxit matrimonium et in Hungariam secum duxit. Mortuo vero rege Andrea domina ista volens redire ad parentes suos, convocatis principibus regni Hungarie, archiepiscopis et episcopis, se gravidam prole manifestis indiciis demonstravit et sic est reversa in terram suam Esth vocatam, et ibi apud patrem suum puerum masculum peperit, quem in baptismo Stephanum vocaverunt. [131] Qui nutritus et educatus sub hoc titulo, quod esset filius regis Hungarie, tandem ad etatem ultimam deveniens usurpare dolo se marchionatum voluit avi sui, sed idem avus suus prevalens ipsum remotius aufugavit.⁹⁴¹ Et sic Stephanus fugiens abiit in Ispaniam ad Iacobum regem Aragonie, qui habebat in uxorem sororem istius Stephani filiam regis Andree, regis Hungarie.⁹⁴² Et ibi aliquamdiu conmoratus iterum in Ytaliā veniens electus est potestas a civibus in Ravenna. Inde fugatus venit Venecias. Ibi autem vir quidam civis Venetensis civitatis potior et ditior, cognoscens et sciens veraciter hunc esse filium regis Hungarie, tradidit sibi filiam suam in uxorem et omnium bonorum suorum participem eum constituit. Ex illa autem habuit filium Stephanus, quem Andreā vocavit nomine patris sui. Qui Andreas auxilio et consilio avunculorum suorum, qui erant infinitarum divitiarum, vivente adhuc rege Ladizlao in Hungariam subintravit, eo quod esset dux, qui deberet habere portionem in regno regis Andree titulo^a avi sui. Cum autem rex Ladizlaus fuisset occisus, a baronibus regni Andreas dux feliciter coronatur. Qui anno secundo regni sui cum exercitu maximo Austriam debellavit.⁹⁴³ In cuius imperio quidam nobiles regni, Iohan-

^a titulo] titulos *Ms*

⁹⁴¹ Azzo VII nominated Obizzo as his successor. Upon his death in 1293, Stephen may have attempted to gain power. Of course, his grandfather was long ago dead; he must have been exiled by the party of Obizzo. See Luciano Chiappini, *Gli Estensi*, pp. 35–37 (Milan: Dall'Oglio, 1967).

⁹⁴² The daughter of Andrew II, Yolande (d. 1251) had married James I, king of Aragon (1213–76) in 1235.

daughter who was of excellent beauty and richly adorned to his view. With her beauty and grace she found favor in his eyes; and since in any case he wished to take a wife, he contracted marriage with the maiden on that same day, and took her back with him to Hungary. On the death of King Andrew, the lady wished to return to her family, and to an assembly of the great men of the Hungarian kingdom and the archbishops and bishops she showed the manifest signs that she was great with child; and so she returned to her own land of Este, and there in her father's house she gave birth to a male child, whom at his baptism they named Stephen. He was nurtured and educated as son of the king of Hungary. But when he reached manhood, he wished to usurp by guile his grandfather's title and estate; but the grandfather was stronger, and banished him to remote parts.⁹⁴¹ Stephen fled into Spain to the court of James, king of Aragon, who had married Stephen's aunt, the daughter of King Andrew of Hungary.⁹⁴² After he had stayed there some time, he returned to Italy and was elected *podestà* by the citizens of Ravenna. Fleeing that town, he came to Venice. Here a certain Venetian, one of the most powerful and wealthy citizens of the city, knowing of certain that he was the son of the king of Hungary, gave him his daughter in marriage and made him partner in all his riches. By this wife Stephen had a son, whom he called Andrew after his father. With the help and by the advice of his uncles, whose wealth was boundless, this Andrew entered Hungary while King Ladislas was still alive and claimed that through his grandfather he had the right, as duke, to a share in King Andrew's kingdom. When King Ladislas was killed, Prince Andrew was successfully crowned by the barons of the realm. In the second year of his reign he subdued Austria with a very great army.⁹⁴³ During his reign certain nobles of

⁹⁴³ The king launched campaigns to reconquer the western Hungarian territories and cities, lost in 1287 and 1289, from the duke of Austria and Styria, Albert I. He was also motivated by the fact that Albert was granted Hungary as a fief by his father Emperor Rudolf I in 1290 based on an alleged contract between Béla IV and Frederick II in 1241. To restore the country's integrity was contained in his coronation oath; his campaigns were quite successful and finally a peace treaty with Albert was signed on 26 August 1291.

nes scilicet et Herricus banus filii Herrici ac Ugrinus filius Pouch de Vylac, aliique quamplures in preiudicium regis Andree a papa Bonifacio VIII-o regem petierunt.⁹⁴⁴

**187. REX KAROLUS ADHUC <PUER> EXISTENS
IN HUNGARIAM DE NEAPOLI PER QUOSDAM
BARONES REGNI HUNGARIE INTRODUCITUR**

⁹⁴⁵Quorum instantiam papa admittens quendam puerum XI annorum nomine Karolum anno [132] Domini M-o CC-o XC-o IX-o vivente adhuc Andrea rege in Hungariam destinavit. Cuius Karoli generatio et origo tali modo habetur. Rex Stephanus quintus filius Bele quarti regis Hungarie inter alias filias habuit unam nomine Mariam vocatam, quam Karulo Claudio filio Karuli Magni, qui ex donatione ecclesie fuit rex Sycilie, tradiderat in uxorem. Qui rex Carolus Claudus ex illa filia Stephani regis genuit Carolum Martellum nomine. Carolus vero Martellus ex filia imperatoris Rodolphi, Clemencia nomine genuit filium, quem primo in terra sua vocaverunt Carobertum, quasi Carolum Robertum.⁹⁴⁶ In Hungaria autem <a>blato^a Roberto ipsum Hungari Carolum vocaverunt. Ut autem iste Carolus regnare valeret et contra Andream regem potestatem accipere, papa prefatus <legatos> unum et alium de latere suo contra regem Andream pro Carolo destinavit.⁹⁴⁷ Qui nichil agere va-

^a <a>blato] oblato *Ms*

⁹⁴⁴ John (Ivan) I. Kőszegi (d. 1308) and Henry III. Kőszegi (d. 1309) of the Héder kindred (also called Németújvári/Güssinger after their other important possession) for long years held several dignities, such as count palatine (1302–7), ban of Slavonia (1307–09). They were sons of Henry II the “Great” (d. 1274) who founded the territorial power of this branch of the kindred in Western and South-western Hungary and rebelled several times against the king after 1272. The Ilok branch of the Csák kindred headed by Ugrin (d. 1311) mostly supported King Andrew III, but after his death joined the Angevin party. Ugrin’s father Pös (Pous) was treasurer of the younger king Béla (1227–33/5), Ugrin himself held the most important dignities, such as judge royal, 1275–6. Ugrin was one of the most important supporters of Charles I after his arrival to Hungary; the young king stayed with him between 1301 and 1307. The popes, mainly Boniface VIII

the realm, namely John and Ban Henry, sons of Henry, and Ugrin, son of Pócs of Ilok and many others, petitioned Pope Boniface VIII, to the prejudice of King Andrew, for a king.⁹⁴⁴

187. KING CHARLES, WHILE STILL [A BOY], IS
BROUGHT TO HUNGARY FROM NAPLES BY
CERTAIN BARONS OF THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

⁹⁴⁵The pope approved their petition, and in the year of our Lord 1299, while King Andrew was still alive, he sent into Hungary a boy of eleven years, named Charles, whose birth and origin were as follows: King Stephen V, son of King Béla IV of Hungary, had, besides other daughters one named Mary, whom he gave as wife to Charles the Lamé, son of Charles the Great, who by gift of the Church was king of Sicily. By this daughter of King Stephen, King Charles the Lamé begot a son, whose name was Charles Martel. By the daughter of Emperor Rudolph, whose name was Clementia, Charles Martel begot a son, who was first called in his own land Caroberto, or Charles Robert.⁹⁴⁶ In Hungary, however, Robert was omitted and the Hungarians called him Charles. In order to make Charles capable of ruling and of taking power against King Andrew, the aforesaid pope sent one legate after another to support his cause against King Andrew.⁹⁴⁷ But they could accomplish noth-

(1294–1303) acted on the basis of their alleged rights from the times of St. Stephen I, and supported the claims of the Angevins to the throne of Hungary after 1290, first tacitly, later openly.

⁹⁴⁵ Hist. in: Youthful person in “ducal” cap (Charles Robert) riding surrounded by two mounted persons.

⁹⁴⁶ Charles I the Great, founder of the Sicilian branch of the Anjou, was king of Sicily 1266–82, his son, Charles the Lamé from 1285 to 1309. The latter’s son, Charles Martel, who already claimed the Hungarian throne died in 1295, thus the inheritance claim descended to the young Charles, born 1288.

⁹⁴⁷ While several legates supported Charles after 1301, there is none known to have been sent to Hungary before that date.

lentes ad propria redierunt. Interim anno Domini M-o CCC-o I-o in festo Sancti Felicis in Pincis idem rex Andreas in castro Budensi requieuit in Domino et sepultus est in ecclesia Sancti Iohannis ewangeliste apud Fratres Minores.⁹⁴⁸

188. DUX VENCEZLAUS DE BOHEMIA IN<TRO>DUCITUR

⁹⁴⁹Postea mortuo rege Andrea barones regni eodem anno in duas partes celerius dividuntur, ita quod Matheus, Omodeus et Ugrinus potentissimi principes in regno⁹⁵⁰ ac alii nobiles quamplures Carulo puero adhererunt, et eum regem nominabant verbo, sed non facto. Dominicus vero filius Stephani dicti Porch, magister thavarnicorum quondam regis Andree, Demetrius filius Nicolai, Herrius filius Herrici, viri valde magnifici cum Iohanne archiepiscopo Cholocensi et Andrea episcopo Agriensi, Emerico episcopo Waradiensi, Haab [133] episcopo Vaciensi, Anthonio episcopo Chana diensi, Nicolao episcopo Boznensi et Iacobo episcopo Scepsensi, cui usque vitam fuerat concessus episcopatus, in mense Iulio versus Bohemiam processerunt ad regem Vencezlaum, ut regni susciperet gubernacula Hungarorum, ne regni liberi libertatem amitterent in susceptione per ecclesiam dati regis.⁹⁵¹ Ad ipsum autem regem Bohemie ob hanc rationem posuerunt gressus suos, quia rex Otho-carus, qui per regem Ladizlaum fuerat interfectus, sicut est superius

⁹⁴⁸ 14 January 1301. The Franciscan church dedicated to St. John the Evangelist was situated in the Castle of Buda, where today a theatre is standing.

⁹⁴⁹ Hist. in: Figure with golden hat on white horse (Wenceslas-Ladislás), followed by two persons on horseback.

⁹⁵⁰ Matthew of the Csák kindred (d. 1321), Amadeus of the Aba kindred (d. 1311), and Ugrin of Ilok of the Csák kindred (see above) were leading barons of the country, who governed large territories, often called oligarchs.

⁹⁵¹ The supporters of Wenceslas' elections were: Dominic II of the Rátót kindred, the son of Stephen I, called Porcs (d. 1277) became treasurer 1293–1301, count palatine of Charles I (1315–1320); Demetrius Balassa had important honors

ing and returned home. In the meantime, in the year of our Lord 1301, on the feast of St. Felix of Pincio King Andrew fell asleep in the Lord in the castle of Buda, and he is buried in the church of St. John the Evangelist of the Friars Minor.⁹⁴⁸

188. DUKE WENCESLAS IS BROUGHT FROM BOHEMIA

⁹⁴⁹After the death of King Andrew, the barons of the realm became divided within the same year right away into two parties. Matthew, Amadeus and Ugrin, the most powerful magnates in the kingdom,⁹⁵⁰ and many other nobles supported the boy Charles and appointed him king, in word but not in deed. But Dominic, son of Stephen known as Porcs, who in the reign of the late King Andrew had been the Master of the Treasurers, Demetrius son of Nicholas, and Henry, son of Henry, who were men of great eminence, together with John, archbishop of Kalocsa, and Andrew, bishop of Eger, Emeric, bishop of Oradea, Háb, bishop of Vác, Anthony, bishop of Cenad, Nicholas, bishop of Bosnia, and James, bishop of Spiš (to whom the episcopal title had been granted for life) in the month of July went to Bohemia to ask King Wenceslas to take upon himself the government of the kingdom of Hungary, lest the free men of the kingdom should lose their freedom by accepting a king appointed by the Church.⁹⁵¹ The reason why they turned to the king of Bohemia was that king Otakar, who, as has been told above, was killed by King Ladislav, was married to the daugh-

during the reign of Ladislav IV and Andrew III; for Henry son of Henry see above p. 340, n. 944; John of the Hont-Pázmány kindred, archbishop of Kalocsa (1278–1301); Andrew, bishop of Eger (1275–1305); Emeric, bishop of Oradea (1297–1317); Háb, bishop of Vác (1293–1311); Anthony, bishop of Cenad (1298–1307); Nicholas, bishop of Bosnia (1301–1308); and Jacob, “bishop” of Spiš. Jacob in fact was the provost of the collegiate chapter of Spiš, who unsuccessfully tried to raise it to a bishopric, but received the title *vicarius episcopus* from the archbishop, 1284–1301.

enarratum, habuit in uxorem filiam domine Anne filie Bele regis quarti, qui ex ea genuit filium nomine Vencezlaum, qui regnavit in Bohemia patre mortuo multis annis.⁹⁵² Qui Vencezlaus venire noluit, sed filium suum ex filia imperatoris Rodolphi procreatum et genitum, nomine similiter Vencezlaum in quadam villa Godin vocata circa Morovam ex parte Bohemie, quo prefati nobiles et episcopi convenerant, in regem Hungaris tradidit naturalem.⁹⁵³ Et ipsi confectis instrumentis litterarum et roborato fidei firmamento unanimiter susceperunt. Abhinc *Te Deum laudamus* altissime proclamantes ad Albam civitatem regiam devenerunt, ubi Iohannes archiepiscopus Colocensis cum episcopis aliis superius nominatis honorifice eum coronarunt. Sedes namque tunc archiepiscopatus Strigoniensis vacabat.⁹⁵⁴ Inde Budam venientes, ibique Iohannes archiepiscopus obdormivit in Domino, et Iacobus episcopus Scepsensis quievit in pace. Tumulantur autem in ecclesia Sancti Iohannis apud Fratres Minores.

189. REX LADIZLAUS REVERTITUR AD PATRIAM SUAM SCILICET BOHEMIAM

⁹⁵⁵Postea rege iam dicto, quem Hungari Ladizlaum vocaverunt,⁹⁵⁶ in Buda degente nullum castrum, nulla potentia seu potestas, nullum ius regale, sicut Carulo puero, ex parte baronum restituuntur. Sed [134] una pars regni Carulum, altera Ladizlaum regem appellabant nomine tantum, sed non re vel effectu regie maiestatis seu potestatis. Tunc rex Vencezlaus, pater Ladizlai noviter coronati,

⁹⁵² The mother of Wenceslas II, king of the Czechs (1283–1305), Kunigunda, wife of King Otakar II, was the granddaughter of King Béla IV. The son of Wenceslas II, with the same name became king of Hungary (1301–1305), then Czech and Polish king (1305–06); with his murder the male line of the founding Přemysl dynasty became extinct.

⁹⁵³ The daughter of Rudolph was Jutta (died 1297), whom he married in 1287. The expression *rex naturalis* may refer to the aforesaid genealogy of young Wenceslas.

⁹⁵⁴ He was crowned on August 27 1301 by Archbishop John of Kalocsa (against the customs of the country), who already had crowned him earlier that year with

ter of Lady Anne, daughter of King Béla IV, and begot by her a son named Wenceslas, who after the death of his father reigned for many years in Bohemia.⁹⁵² Wenceslas himself was unwilling to come; but in a village called Hodonin near the river Morava, in that part of Bohemia where the aforesaid nobles and bishops had assembled, he gave his son, also named Wenceslas, whom he had begotten by the daughter of Emperor Rudolph, to the Hungarians as their natural king.⁹⁵³ They unanimously accepted him, drew up the instruments, and confirmed them with a vow of allegiance. Thence they departed, singing with loud voices *Te Deum laudamus*, to the royal city of Fehérvár, where with due ceremony John, archbishop of Kalocsa, and the other bishops named above, crowned him king, for at that time the archbishopric of Esztergom was vacant.⁹⁵⁴ Then they came to Buda, where Archbishop John fell asleep in the Lord, and James, bishop of Spiš, passed peacefully away. They are buried in the church of St. John of the Friars Minor.

189. KING LADISLAS RETURNS TO HIS OWN COUNTRY, NAMELY BOHEMIA

⁹⁵⁵Thereafter the king whom the Hungarians called Ladislav⁹⁵⁶ resided in Buda, but the barons returned no castle, nor might and power, nor royal authority either to him or to the boy Charles. One party in the kingdom named Charles as king, and the other party Ladislav, but in name only, not in the effectiveness of royal majesty and power. Then King Wenceslas, the father of the recently crowned King Ladislav, seeing and understanding the hidden

some *ad hoc* crown, as the traditional (Holy) one was in the hands of Wenceslas. The archbishop-elect of Esztergom (1298–1301), Gregory Bicskei, a partisan of the Angevins, refused to do so; he was killed by the French in the Anagni attack on the pope in 1303 while promoting his appointment at the papal court.

⁹⁵⁵ Hist. in: Two horsemen—one crowned in long mantle (King Wenceslas III of Bohemia), one in “ducal” cap (King Wenceslas-Ladislav)—turned toward each other.

⁹⁵⁶ For reasons of legitimization he was named after the Hungarian holy king, Ladislav.

videns et considerans palliatas versutias Hungarorum anno Domini M-o CCC III-o cum multitudine exercitus Pannoniam est ingressus, et iuxta Danubium circa Pesth aliquantulum residens, Ladizlaum filium suum cum corona regni accipiens, et Ladizlaum filium Vernerii rectorem seu iudicem Budensem, in suum regnum in pace revertitur.⁹⁵⁷

190. PAPA PER SACERDOTES BUDENSES EXCOMMUNICATUR

⁹⁵⁸Eodem tempore frater Nicolaus de ordine Predicatorum, episcopus Hostiensis cardinalis, apostolice sedis auctoritate suffultus in Hungariam pro Carulo advenit.⁹⁵⁹ Qui Bude residendo diebus aliquot, videns se nichil posse proficere, reversus est in curiam et ibi mortuo Bonifacio VIII-o in summum pontificem eligitur, et creatur, et Benedictus appellatur.⁹⁶⁰ In suo autem recessu cives civitatis Budensis pro quodam casu in interdict<o>^a reliquerat. Interdictum quippe religiosi et plebanis stricte servantibus, surrexerunt pseudo-sacerdotes et perfidi, qui manifeste divina populo celebrabant et sacramenta ecclesiastica ministrabant publice interdicti<s>.^b Insuper *malum malo cumulantes*⁹⁶¹ perniciosius convocato populo, accensis lucernis summum pontificem, Christi vicarium, archiepiscopos et episcopos universos regni Hungarie ac viros religiosos communiter excommunicatos altis vocibus promul-

^a interdict<o>] interdictu *Ms*

^b interdicti<s>] *lacuna post interdicti Ms*

⁹⁵⁷ Wenceslas left Hungary in June 1304. He took with him the Holy Crown, causing considerable constitutional troubles to Charles I. He finally resigned the Hungarian royal title on 9 October 1305. Werner, judge of Buda, was a supporter Wenceslas, but his son became a supporter of the Anjou.

⁹⁵⁸ Hist. in: Two clerks, one holding a candle, the other a book, in front of a church with belltower; a mitred figure reading a book (Cardinal Nicholas) in the right lower corner.

cunning of the Hungarians, entered Pannonia with a large army in the year of our Lord 1303. He remained for some time by the Danube in the neighborhood of Pest; then, taking with him his son Ladislas, together with the crown of the kingdom, and imprisoning Ladislas son of Werner, the magistrate, that is, judge of Buda he returned in peace to his own country.⁹⁵⁷

190. THE POPE IS EXCOMMUNICATED BY THE PRIESTS OF BUDA

⁹⁵⁸At this time, Brother Nicholas of the Order of the Friars Preachers, bishop of Ostia and cardinal, came to Hungary, vested with the authority of the Holy See, on behalf of Charles.⁹⁵⁹ After staying in Buda for some days, he saw that he would be unable to accomplish anything, and so he returned to the papal court. On the death of Boniface VIII he was chosen and made supreme pontiff and took the name of Benedict.⁹⁶⁰ At his departure from Buda he had for some cause left the citizens under interdict, which was faithfully observed both by monks and priests. But now there arose false and disobedient priests who openly celebrated divine service before the people and administered the sacraments of the Church to those who had been publicly banned from them. They *heaped evil upon evil*⁹⁶¹ and in their growing sinfulness, the people having been called together, and candles lighted, they proclaimed with loud voice that the supreme pontiff, the Vicar of Christ, all of the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom of Hungary and the members of religious orders were all excommunicated. At the time that this was done, the castle of Buda was under the charge of a certain

⁹⁵⁹ Nicholas Boccasini arrived to Hungary in September 1301, and left it at the beginning of 1303. The pope recognized officially Charles as king of Hungary on 31 May 1303.

⁹⁶⁰ He became pope as Benedict IX (1303–04).

⁹⁶¹ Commonplace, going back to the *Glossa ordinaria* (1er 4,21) MPL 114: col. 16.

gabant. Hoc factum est <cum> castrum Budense quodam dicto Preturmano regente, quem pro Ladizlao captivato, rex prefecerat Vencezlaus.⁹⁶²

191. DUX OTTHO INTRODUCITUR

⁹⁶³[135] Interdum vero filii Herrici et quidam alii nobiles Ottho-nem ducem Bavarie subintroducunt in regem Hungarie.⁹⁶⁴ Qui veniens et coronam regni a Vencezlao ablatam petivit sibi dari ac secum ferens anno Domini M-o CCC-o V-o Albam regalem civitatem petiit, ut ibi coronaretur legitime in regem. Quem Benedictus episcopus Wesprimiensis et frater Anthonius episcopus Chanadiensis in regem inunxerunt et dicta corona regia coronarunt.⁹⁶⁵ Inde Budam veniens et in die sollempni^a in decore regio coronam sanctam habens in capite, per omnes plateas et vicos incedebat eques cum populo copioso, ut cunctis se esse regem legitimum publicaret. Qui in brevi terram Erdelw cum Beke filio Thome censuit visitare, ubi Ladizlaus woyuoda ipsum captivavit et in castro suo tenuit vinculatum multis diebus. Qui tam miserabili fortuna a sibi occurrente de regno expellitur Hungarorum.⁹⁶⁶

^a sollempni in] *post sollempni lacuna in Ms*

⁹⁶² In the background there was an economic quarrel between the citizens and various ecclesiastical institutions, which led to the mentioned excommunication, perhaps influenced by certain heretical and political bias, see Martyn C. Rady: *Medieval Buda: A Study of Municipal Government and Jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Hungary*, p. 36 (Boulder: East European Monographs, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1985).

⁹⁶³ Dec. in.

⁹⁶⁴ Wenceslas transferred his Hungarian royal title to Otto of Wittelsbach (born 1261, died 1312), who was the son of Elisabeth, daughter of King Béla IV and Henry I, Duke of Lower Bavaria. He was supported by Henry Kőszegi (see above, n. 944, p. 340).

Peterman, whom King Wenceslas had appointed in the place of Ladislás, whom he had taken captive.⁹⁶²

191. DUKE OTTO IS BROUGHT INTO THE COUNTRY

⁹⁶³Meanwhile, the sons of Henry and certain other nobles brought into the country Otto, duke of Bavaria to be king of Hungary.⁹⁶⁴ He came, asked to be given the crown of the realm that had been taken away by Wenceslas, and bringing it with him, went in the year of our Lord 1305 to the royal city of Fehérvár there to be lawfully crowned king. Benedict, bishop of Veszprém and Brother Anthony, bishop of Cenad anointed him king and crowned him with the aforesaid royal crown.⁹⁶⁵ Then he came to Buda, and on the feast day of [...], in royal robes and with the Holy Crown upon his head, he rode through all the streets and squares among the throng of people in order to show to everyone that he was the rightful king. After a short time he decided to visit Transylvania together with Beke, son of Thomas, but he was there made prisoner by the Voivode Ladislás, who kept him chained in his castle for many days. Having met with this wretched fate, he was expelled from the kingdom of the Hungarians.⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶⁵ It was against the customs that two bishops, Benedict, bishop of Veszprém (1290–1309) and Anthony, bishop of Cenad (1298–1307), a Franciscan, celebrated the ceremony on 6 December 1305 without the primate of Hungary.

⁹⁶⁶ Beke of the Borsa kindred, treasurer in 1308–09, was a brother of the oligarch, James of the Borsa kindred, called Kopasz (Bald), the count palatine of Otto in 1307, and count palatine of Charles I (1301–14). Voivode Ladislás of the Kán kindred (d. 1315) another oligarch, voivode of Transylvania 1297–1315, invited Otto to Transylvania in 1307, captured him and took away the Holy Crown what he returned to Charles only in 1310. Otto went home, but used the Hungarian royal title until his death.

192. DE INVENTIONE SACRE CORONE

⁹⁶⁷Ex hoc pretermittendum est, quod cum sacra corona per dictum Otthonem ducem ad Hungariam portaretur, propter timorem hostium fecit illam includi per artem tornatoriam in flasconem. Cum autem equitaret cum suis sub noctis silentio in strata publica, in qua plurimi viatores transibant, casu de sell<e>^a corrigiis, ubi erat flasco ille ligatus, quasi vas vinarium, nullo vidente cecidit resolutus. Postmodum vero luce clarescente, dum vidissent non esse thesaurum illum pretiosum, quo citius potuerunt, timore percussi retro celeriter cucurrerunt. Quam coronam inter multos transeuntes in terra iacentem in medio publice strate inventam a nemine repperunt. Forsitan ceciderat [136] in prima vigilia noctis, reinventa est autem sequenti die circa tempus^b non dubium vespertinum. Mirum certe et miraculum non tacendum! Quid enim per hoc, quod illa corona cecidit, intelligo, nisi quia dux ille usque vitam suam portare non potuit hanc coronam, sed amisit de capite coronam ipsam pariter et honorem. Quid est, quod a nullo inventa, sed ab ipsis, qui portabant, nisi quod ne Pannonia data sibi corona ab angelo privaretur.⁹⁶⁸

193. Quo facto in eisdem eventibus Ladizlaus filius Wernerii de captivitate regis Vencezlai anno fere tertio liberatur, et cum Iohanne filio Chaak castrum Budense per portam, que est iuxta synagogam Iudeorum,⁹⁶⁹ feria quinta post festum Beate Petronelle virgi-

^a sell<e>] sella *Ms*

^b tempus] tempore *Ms*

⁹⁶⁷ Hist. in: A person, in front of his horse, bent down, holds a flask and hands a crown with his left to a tonsured (?) rider on white horse, accompanied by another mounted person.

⁹⁶⁸ The notion of a special object becoming invisible to the unauthorized is a known folktale motive; see Thompson, *Motif-index of folk-literature* D 1361. This episode is one of the few, where a kind of folkloric element found its way into the chronicle. The "angelic" is a rare adjective, perhaps referring to the vision of Ladislav in ch.120, pp. 222–3 above.

192. THE FINDING OF THE HOLY CROWN

⁹⁶⁷Nor must it be left unrecorded that when the aforesaid Duke Otto brought the Holy Crown to Hungary, for fear of enemies he caused it to be encased, by the skill of a turner, within a cask. As in the silence of the night he was riding with his men on a public road, where there were many passers-by, the cask chanced to come loose from the fastenings by which it was secured to the saddle like a vessel of wine, and it fell to the ground without anyone noticing. At the brightening of the dawn they realized that the precious treasure was missing, and stricken with fear they ran back as fast as they could. They found the crown lying on the ground in the middle of the public road, for none of the many passers-by had noticed it. It may have fallen in the first watch of the night, and it was found most certainly on the following day about eventide. Surely a marvel and a miracle not to be kept secret! For what else is the significance of the crown falling but that the duke was not able to wear this crown throughout his life, but lost the crown and likewise his honor? Why was it found by none but those who brought it, if not because Pannonia should never lose the crown given to her by an angel.⁹⁶⁸

193. After these happenings, Ladislás, son of Werner, was released in the third year from the captivity in which he was held by King Wenceslas. Together with John, son of Csák, on the Thursday after the feast of the blessed Petronella the Virgin, he entered the castle of Buda in the silence of the night by the gate which is next to the synagogue of the Jews,⁹⁶⁹ and by a sudden attack he overpowered

⁹⁶⁹ For this location, see now: András Vég, "Buda: The Multi-ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary," in: *Segregation, integration, assimilation: religious and ethnic groups in the medieval towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, Derek J. Keene, Balázs Nagy, Katalin Szende, eds., p. 97. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Idem, "Les synagogues de Buda (XIVe et XVe siècles): fouilles récentes", in: *L'archéologie du judaïsme en France et en Europe* pp. 215–224. Paul Salmona, ed. (Paris: INRAP etc., 2011).

nis, noctis in silentio subintravit, et quosdam cives Budenses, suos adversarios et proditores invasit subito et destruxit.⁹⁷⁰ Peturmanus autem iudex civitatis nudus fugiens vix evasit. Duos enim ex ipsis civibus, scilicet Martunherman et magistrum Martinum, iuratos cives de duodecim, in caudis equorum per vicos et plateas civitatis crudeliter trahi fecit et eorum ossa ignibus concremari. Bona eorum obtinuit et possedit. Sacerdotes insuper illos perfidos superius nominatos manibus cathenatis et pedibus Thome Strigoniensi archiepiscopo destinavit. Quos idem archiepiscopus carceri mancipavit et in eodem tristem spiritum emisit.⁹⁷¹

194. DOMINUS FRATER GENTILIS CARDINALIS VENIT IN HUNGARIAM

⁹⁷²Cum igitur puer Karolus absque regni solatio in Hungaria moraretur, frater Gentilis, tituli Sancti Martini in montibus presbyter cardinalis de ordine Fratrum Minorum ex auctoritate summi pontificis plenaria anno Domini M-o CCC-o VIII-o Pannoniam intravit.⁹⁷³ Uno siquidem anno in pace transacto, anno Domini M-o CCC-o [137] IX-o constitutione terribili promulgata nobiles regni anathematis *vinculo innodavit*, pauperibus vero et divitibus universis divina strictius interdixit. Et hec fecit illis nobilibus, qui iura *regalia et reginalia* nolebant restituere regi Carulo supradicto, et qui eum regem minime appellarent. Ladizlaum vero voyvodam Transilvanum speciali excommunicatione feriens,⁹⁷⁴ eo quod coro-

⁹⁷⁰ It was on 1 June 1307; for John of Ilok of the kindred Csák cf. ch.187 above (p. 340).

⁹⁷¹ Buda was recaptured by Ladislas, son of Werner on behalf of King Charles I in 1307, Peterman, a former wealthy citizen fled, the leader of the rebellious clergy was imprisoned. Morhan Hermann and Martin were rich citizens in Buda, accused of heresy in 1307 at the Synod of Buda. Thomas was archbishop of Esztergom, 1305–20; see Rady, *Medieval Buda*, p. 36.

⁹⁷² Hist. in: Cardinal (Gentile) on white horse, followed by a monk and two other persons.

and killed those citizens of Buda who were his enemies and traitors.⁹⁷⁰ Peterman, the magistrate of the city, had to flee naked and barely escaped. Two of the citizens, namely Morhan Hermann and Master Martin, sworn citizens of the council of twelve, he caused to be tied to the tails of horses and cruelly dragged through the streets and squares of the city, and their bones he caused to be burned in the fire. He confiscated and appropriated their property. Those treacherous priests of whom we have spoken he delivered over, bound hand and foot, to Thomas, archbishop of Esztergom, who placed them in prison, where they miserably expired their souls.⁹⁷¹

194. THE LORD CARDINAL FRIAR GENTILE COMES TO HUNGARY

⁹⁷²Then, since the boy Charles stayed in Hungary without gaining the kingdom, Brother Gentile of the Order of the Friars Minor, cardinal priest of the title of St. Martin in the Mountains, came to Pannonia in the year of our Lord 1308 with the full authority of the supreme pontiff.⁹⁷³ One year passed by quietly, but then in the year of our Lord 1309 he bound in a terrible decree the nobles of the country by the ties of anathema, and he also placed the poor as well as all the rich under a strict interdict. This action he took against those nobles who would not return the revenues of the king and the queen to the aforesaid King Charles and would not address him by his royal title. Against Ladislas, the voivode of Transylvania, he pronounced a specific excommunication⁹⁷⁴ be-

⁹⁷³ Gentile da Montefiore arrived to Hungary, via Split in May 1308, and stayed in the country till September 1311. He caused Charles to be crowned with a new crown made as a substitute of the missing Holy Crown in Buda on 15 June 1309, but the constitutional crisis was not yet solved. His activities are well documented in the *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis*.

⁹⁷⁴ This paragraph contains several verbatim quotes from the decree of the cardinal legate from 25 December 1309 (see *Acta*, as above, pp. 369–74) proving that the compiler of the text had these documents in his hands.

nam regni, quam ab Otthone duce, dum eum captivaverat, receperat, indebite detinebat, et quia filiam suam idem Ladizlaus tradiderat filio Stephani, regis Servie scismatico in uxorem.⁹⁷⁵ Quapropter cum prefati nobiles extra cimiteria corpora iacentia conspicerent defunctorum, amaro spiritu perturbati, anno Domini M-o CCC-o X-o congregati in campum Racus circa Pesth, Carulum sepedictum in regem concorditer susceperunt, et Albam properantes feria quinta in octavis sancti regis Stephani sollempniter cum letitia coronarunt cum sancta corona a Ladizlao voyvoda restituta.⁹⁷⁶

195. Anno eodem papa Clemens quartus per cruciferos Sancti Iohannis inter Christicolae mundi huius inestimabilem thesaurum fecit sagaciter procurari ad passagium generale pro Terra Sancta expugnanda, tradens dictis cruciferis gratiam singularem, pecuniam largientes ab omnibus criminibus absolvendi usque ad continuos quinque annos. Sed postea de illo tanto thezauro nichil factum vidimus effective.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷⁵ Voivode Ladislas tried to make the foundation of an independent foreign policy, and to establish family ties with the Serbian king, Stephen II, Uroš Milutin (1282–1321) by marrying his daughter to the king.

⁹⁷⁶ Charles was crowned (now for the third or even fourth time) on 27 August 1310. He counted his regnal years from 1301. An assembly was held at Rákos in October 1307, perhaps the chronicler referred to this, or another meeting that took place before the coronation.

cause he had unlawfully retained the crown of the kingdom that he had taken from Duke Otto while he held him prisoner, and because he had given his daughter in marriage to the schismatic son of Stephen, king of Serbia.⁹⁷⁵ When therefore the aforesaid nobles saw the corpses of the dead lying outside the graveyards, they were sorely troubled in spirit, and in the year of our Lord 1310 they assembled in the field of Rákös near Pest and with one accord they accepted the aforesaid Charles as king. Then they hastened to Fehérvár, and on the Thursday in the octave of King St. Stephen he was crowned with rejoicing and ceremony with the Holy Crown which had been restored by Voivode Ladislas.⁹⁷⁶

195. In the same year Pope Clement IV instituted a wise measure by which a vast treasure should be raised from among the Christian believers of this world through the crusaders of St. John, to be used for a general crusade to reconquer the Holy Land; for he granted to the said crusaders the singular grace that they might remit for the following five years all their sins of those who contributed money. But afterwards we did not see this great treasure used to any purpose.⁹⁷⁷

⁹⁷⁷ Pope Clement V (1305–1314), called a crusade in April 1312 and the French king, Philip was elected as the leader of it. At this time there was strong anti-crusader feeling in Europe, the Order of the Temple was dissolved, and our chronicler, most likely a Franciscan, wanted to discredit the Order of St. John for the failure that was widely recorded with almost the same words, e.g. in the *Vita Edwardi Secundi* (ed. Wendy R. Childs, Cambridge: CUP, 2005, p. 80).

196. PUGNA REGIS KAROLI PROPE
CASSAM CUM SUIS CONTRA
MATHEUM ET FILIOS OMODEI



⁹⁷⁸[138] Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XII-o, cum rex Carolus regale castrum Sarus vocatum a Demetrio filio Nicolai ex mandato Mathei potentissimi principis⁹⁷⁹ possessum suis viribus obsideret, idem Matheus filius Petri de Trinchinio mille et septingentos milites lanceatos conductitios et omne penitus suum posse contra regem in adiutorium Demetrii destinavit, ut ipsum regem de subcastro procul pelleret prepotenter. Principes autem exercitus Demetrium supradictum et Abam dictum Pulchrum sive Magnum constituit.⁹⁸⁰ Quorum adventum rex audiens putavit se non posse resistere, in Sepes se recepit. Cui Scepsenses equites pariter et pedestres fideliter concesserunt, cum quibus rex hostes suos audacius est aggressus. Qui quidem interdum civitatem Cassa vocatam expugnare ceperunt pro morte Omodei palatini, quem in Cassa Cassenses Theutonici vel potius <Saxones> peremerant innocentem.⁹⁸¹ Quibus cum exploratores conclamarent regis adventum, dimissa civitate intrepidi obviam regio exercitui processerunt. Et ad locum pugnandi magis aptiorem rex et ipsi plurimum festinabant,

se resistere, in Sepes se recepit. Cui Scepsenses equites pariter et pedestres fideliter concesserunt, cum quibus rex hostes suos audacius est aggressus. Qui quidem interdum civitatem Cassa vocatam expugnare ceperunt pro morte Omodei palatini, quem in Cassa Cassenses Theutonici vel potius <Saxones> peremerant innocentem.⁹⁸¹ Quibus cum exploratores conclamarent regis adventum, dimissa civitate intrepidi obviam regio exercitui processerunt. Et ad locum pugnandi magis aptiorem rex et ipsi plurimum festinabant,

⁹⁷⁸ Inh. in: Full figure of king (Charles) with crowned hat and golden doublet, holding orb and shield with split Árpád-Anjou crest.

**196. THE FIGHT OF KING CHARLES
AND HIS MEN NEAR KOŠICE AGAINST MATTHEW
AND THE SONS OF AMADEUS**

⁹⁷⁸In the year of our Lord 1312 King Charles besieged with his army the royal castle called Šarišsky Hrad, which was held by Demetrius, the son of Nicholas, commanded by Matthew, a most powerful duke.⁹⁷⁹ Matthew, the son of Peter, from Trenčín, sent seventeen hundred paid spearmen and all his own forces to the help of Demetrius in order that he might be sufficiently strong to drive back the king from below the castle. At the head of the army he placed the aforesaid Demetrius and Aba, called the Handsome or the Great.⁹⁸⁰ When the king heard of their approach, he thought that he was not strong enough to stand against them, and withdrew to the Spiš. The people of Spiš loyally provided both horsemen and foot-soldiers, and with these the king went forth more boldly against his enemies. They [Demetrius' men] had begun meanwhile to attack the city of Košice; for in this town the innocent Count Palatine Amadeus had been killed by the German or rather [the Saxon] populace.⁹⁸¹ When they learned from scouts of the king's coming, they raised the siege of the city and went confidently to meet the royal army. Both they and the king made speed to reach a more favorable ground for battle, and it was they who occupied it first. In a valley near the river Hernád the king and his

⁹⁷⁹ Charles besieged the castle in May-April 1312. Demetrius Zolyómi (d. 1312) held the castle that belonged to the territory of the most powerful oligarch, Matthew (son of Peter) of Trenčín of the Csák kindred (born c. 1260). Matthew had built up a quasi-independent territory in North-West Hungary, comprising some 14 counties, and resisted the Angevins. He held several honors during his life, but used the title "count palatine" arbitrarily until his death.

⁹⁸⁰ Aba nicknamed the Handsome of the Aba kindred belonged to the Galgóci branch, he must have been very old as he appears in the sources since 1251; he died in the battle.

⁹⁸¹ Amadeus of the Aba kindred, from the Amadeus branch, several times count palatine, lastly 1299–1301, oligarch, possessed also the city of Košice, where he was killed in September 1311, and two of his sons were captured by the citizens who blackmailed the Aba for concessions. Our insert is based on one of the other manuscripts.

quem locum ipsi primitus occuparunt. Rex interim in quadam valle circa Harnad cum exercitu, confessione sacramentali premissa et absolutione accepta, susceptoque Dominici corporis sacramento <a> cruciferis supradictis,⁹⁸² mori se per omnia paraverunt. At ipsi durissimi pacis hostes, bellica arma induti, de montis cuiusdam cacumine in vallem prefatam protinus certaturi obviam regi descendebant, et in latere dicti montis feria VI-a, in festo Sanctorum Viti et Modesti⁹⁸³ prelium durissimum est commissum, quale a tempore Tartarorum in Hungaria non contigit celebrari. In quo prelio de familia regis Kokos filius Stephani dicti Porch et Stephanus filius Bagen, Ladizlaus filius Thome, Iacobus filius Aladarii, Michael filius Petri, [139] Gurke et Michael filii Gurke et Petrus castellanus de Bereg, preclari nobiles corruerunt.⁹⁸⁴ Gurke sub vexillo regis vexillarius existens occisus vexillo regis cadente sub vexillo cruciferorum rege pugnante. Ex parte vero altera Demetrius filius Nicolai et Aba principes exercitus ac duo filii Omodei mortis iaculo vulnerati prepropere ceciderunt, et alii quamplurimi letaliter sauciati ibidem et alibi mortis debita persolverunt, et licet ex parte regis plures ceciderunt, tamen rex victoriam obtinuit gloriose. Quod factum a Deo esse credimus et fatemur.

197. OBITUS DOMINE MARIE PRIME UXORIS REGIS KAROLI

⁹⁸⁵Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XV-o domina^a Maria prima consors domini regis, natione Polona, filia ducis Kasmerii tertio die post festum Beate Lucie virginis et martyris in Themeswar vite cursum

^a *ante cancellavit* tertio

⁹⁸² The contingent of the Order of St. John of the Hospital.

⁹⁸³ The battle was fought near to Košice, at Rozhanovce (Rozgony) on 15 June 1312, but that was a Thursday in that year.

⁹⁸⁴ Kakas was Master of the Horse in 1303 Stephen, son of Bágyon, is several times mentioned in charters; Ladislas, son of Thomas of the Borsa kindred was the brother of Roland, voivode of Transylvania (1282, 1284–94) the father of Jacob, son of Aladár was the reginal judge of Charles's wife in 1309; Gyürke and Mi-

army had meanwhile made confession and been given absolution and had received from the aforesaid crusaders⁹⁸² the sacrament of the Lord's Body, and thus in every way they had made themselves ready to die. Into this valley, having armed themselves for combat, those most stubborn enemies of peace rushed down from the summit of a mountain to fight the king; and on the Friday which was the feast of SS. Vitus and Modestus⁹⁸³ a battle was fought on the slope of the mountain more fierce than any since the time when the Tartars were in Hungary. In this battle from the king's men Kaskas, son of Stephen named Porcs; and the eminent nobles Stephen, son of Bágyon; Ladislás, son of Thomas; Jacob, son of Aladár; Michael, son of Peter; Gyürke and Michael, sons of Gyürke; as well as Peter the castellan of Bereg, met their death.⁹⁸⁴ Gyürke was the king's standard-bearer, and when he was killed and the royal standard fell, the king fought under the standard of the crusaders. On the opposing side, Demetrius, son of Nicholas, and Aba, the leaders of the army, and the two sons of Amadeus were soon struck down by death's dart. Many others were mortally wounded, and either on the battlefield or in some other place they paid their debt of death; and although the greater number fell upon the king's side, yet the king with glory won the victory. This we believe and declare to have been God's work.

197. THE DEATH OF LADY MARY, THE FIRST WIFE OF KING CHARLES

⁹⁸⁵In the year of our Lord 1315, the king's first consort, Mary, who was Polish by birth, daughter of Duke Casimir, peacefully ended the course of her life at Timișoara on the third day after the feast of the blessed Lucia, virgin and martyr. She was committed to the

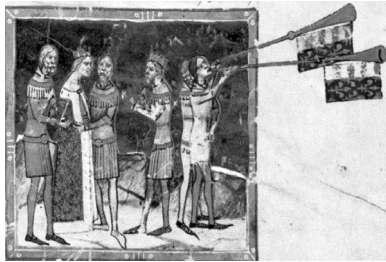
chael, sons of Gyürke of the Csák kindred; Peter was the castellan of Bereg County in Mukačeve.

⁹⁸⁵ Hist. in: Crowned queen (Mary) laid into coffin, two bishops attending.

feliciter terminavit, et in Alba Regali in ecclesia Beate Virginis terre gremio commendatur.⁹⁸⁶

198. Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XVIII-o accepit rex dominam Beatricem filiam regis Romanorum, sororem regis Bohemorum de terra Luchumburgensi, que in revolutione eiusdem anni obdormivit in Domino, et Waradini in cathedrali ecclesia tumulatur.⁹⁸⁷ Eodem anno ecclesiam Beate Virginis Albensem, que frequenter incendio vastabatur, incepit rex tegere plumbeis tegumentis et cum gloriosa testudine decorare, insuper etiam columnnis firmissimis stabilire. Eodem anno mortuus est Matheus palatinus.⁹⁸⁸

199. REX KAROLUS DUCIT IN UXOREM DOMINAM ELYZABETH



⁹⁸⁹ [140] Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XX-o accepit rex Karolus filiam Ladizlai regis Polonorum, Elyzabeth nomine, de qua anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXI-o habuit rex filium nomine Karolum, qui puer mortuus est eodem anno, quo natus est et in Alba sepultus.⁹⁹⁰

200. Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXIII-o in Vyssegrad in festo Sancti Remigii de eadem regina rex genuit filium nomine Ladizlaum.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁸⁶ Mary's father was Casimir (Kazimierz), duke of Bytom-Cieszyn (died 1312). The queen died on 15 December 1317. Timișoara was Charles' residence at that time for reasons of security, Buda and Visegrád being too close to the territory of Matthew of Trenčín.

⁹⁸⁷ The wedding took place on 18 November 1318, Beatrice was the daughter of Emperor Henry VII (1308–13), and the sister of John (1310–46) of Luxembourg. The queen died in November 1319.

bosom of the earth in the royal city of Fehérvár, in the church of the Blessed Virgin.⁹⁸⁶

198. In the year of our Lord 1318, the king married the lady Beatrice, daughter of the king of the Romans, sister of the king of the Czechs from the country of Luxemburg, but in the course of the year she fell asleep in the Lord and is buried in the cathedral church of Oradea.⁹⁸⁷ In the same year the king began to roof with lead the church of the Blessed Virgin at Fehérvár, which had often been damaged by fire, and to adorn it with magnificent vaulting, and also to make it more secure with very strong columns. In the same year the Count Palatine Matthew died.⁹⁸⁸

199. KING CHARLES MARRIES THE LADY ELIZABETH

⁹⁸⁹In the year of our Lord 1320 King Charles married the daughter of Wladislas, king of the Poles, named Elizabeth by whom in the year of our Lord 1321 he had a son named Charles, but the child died in the same year that he was born, and is buried at Fehérvár.⁹⁹⁰

200. At Visegrád, in the year of our Lord 1323, on the feast of St. Remigius, there was born to him by the same queen a son named Ladislas.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁸⁸ The church burned down several times, e.g. in 1327, but not in 1320 or 1321. Matthew died on 18 March 1321, after that Charles seized all the lands of the oligarch, including Trenčín between 4–8 August.

⁹⁸⁹ *Inh. in:* Crowned queen (Elisabeth) in ermine-lined robe with five children at her foot; two crowned left (Louis and Andrew), three right in “ducal” caps (Stephen, Charles, Ladislas).

⁹⁹⁰ The wedding was celebrated on 6 July 1320; Elisabeth’s father was the Polish king, Wladislas (Władysław) I. Łokietek (1320–33), her mother the granddaughter of King Béla IV, Jadwiga, princess of Kalisz.

⁹⁹¹ The royal residence moved from Timișoara to Visegrád in 1323. Ladislas, b. 1 October 1323 (or 1 November 1324) suffered an untimely death in 1329.

201. FUNDATIO CLAUSTRI LYPUENSIS



⁹⁹²Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXV-o incoavit dominus rex Fratribus Minoribus edificare ecclesiam in Lyppua ad honorem Beati Lays novi sancti, episcopi Tholosani et confessoris, qui fuit frater carnalis patris sui, scilicet primogenitus regis Sycilie, filius Marie regine, filie Stephani regis Hungarie, filii Bele quarti, professor voto et habitu ordinis Fratrum Minorum.⁹⁹³

202. LODOVICUS NASCITUR



⁹⁹⁴[141] Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXVI-o III-o Nonas Martii natus est eidem regi filius, quem nomine huius sancti confessoris, consanguinei sui, Lays pre gaudio appellavit.⁹⁹⁵

203. Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXVII-o feria quarta ante Dominicam Ramis Palmarum⁹⁹⁶ ecclesia Beate Virginis de Alba Regali, quamvis plumbo tecta fuisset contra incendium, ut superius memini, tamen flebiliter est combusta, et tota plumbea materia in laminas producta de tecto eius a facie ignis vehementis fluxit liquide, sicut cera, excepto uno campanili, quod supra sacristiam est,

201. THE FOUNDATION OF THE CONVENT OF LIPOVA

⁹⁹²In the year of our Lord 1325, the king began to build at Lipova for the Friars Minor a church in honor of a new saint, the blessed Louis the confessor, bishop of Toulouse. Louis was the blood-brother of the king's father, that is, the first-born of the king of Sicily and the son of Queen Mary, who was the daughter of Stephen, king of Hungary, who was the son of Béla IV; he had taken the vows and wore the habit of the Friars Minor.⁹⁹³

202. LOUIS IS BORN

⁹⁹⁴In the year of our Lord 1326, on March 5, there was born to the king a son, whom in his joy he called by the name of this saintly confessor, his kinsman, Louis.⁹⁹⁵

203. In the year of our Lord 1327, on the Wednesday before Palm Sunday,⁹⁹⁶ the church of the Blessed Virgin at Fehérvár, although it had been covered with a lead roof against fire, as I have told above, was sadly destroyed by fire and all the sheets of lead on the roof melted in the heat of the flames and ran like liquid wax; only the belfry remained standing above the sacristy where many relics of the saints were kept and guarded, and none doubted that it was by

⁹⁹² Inh. in: Full figure of bishop with halo and staff, wearing brooch with Árpád-Anjou crest (St. Louis of Toulouse).

⁹⁹³ The Franciscan convent was founded before 1323 in this developing city, where a chamber of the mint and the mines was located. The building was finished by Elisabeth c. 1349. St. Louis of Toulouse was canonized in 1317. The Latin form of "Lays" comes from the French usage where "Lois, Loys" were used in the signature of the kings of France until the times of Louis XIII; in Hungarian 'Lajos'.

⁹⁹⁴ Hist. in.: Four-towered church (Székesfehérvár) in flames.

⁹⁹⁵ Louis (the later king, 1342–82) was born on 5 March.

⁹⁹⁶ April 1.

ubi sanctorum reliquie quamplurime posite conservantur, quod nemo dubitat eorum meritis remansisse. Sed nichilominus eandem ecclesiam postea iterum plumbo texit.

204. ANDREAS DUX NASCITUR

Eodem anno in festo Sancti Andree apostoli natus est ei filius, quem Andream appellavit.⁹⁹⁷

205. FELICIANUS VULNERAT DOMINAM ELYZABET REGINAM

⁹⁹⁸Anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXIX. mortuus est Ladizlaus filius eius.⁹⁹⁹

206.¹⁰⁰⁰ Cum autem hiisdem temporibus regnum Hungarie pacis optate tranquillitate gauderet et securum esset ab hostibus circumquaque, pacis emulus et invidie seminator,¹⁰⁰¹ dyabolus misit in cor cuiusdam militis, nomine Feliciani de genere Zaah, inveterat<i>^a dierum et canitie iam respers<i>^b, ut dominum suum regem Karolum et dominam Elyzabet reginam et duos filios eius Lays et Andream occideret gladio uno die.¹⁰⁰² Qui Felicianus per Matheum de Trinchinio quondam palatinum fuerat exaltatus,

^a inveterat<i>] inveterato *Ms*

^b respers<i> *var. Mss*] respersum *Ms*

⁹⁹⁷ He was born on 30 November 1327, and named after the saint of his birthday. As husband of Johanna I of Naples he became duke of Calabria, and was killed on 18 September 1345.

⁹⁹⁸ Hist. in: Royal couple seated at table in a building (right) being attacked by bearded figure with sword (Felician Záh) whom a guard stabs from behind; a person holding dish on the left.

⁹⁹⁹ See above, ch. 200, pp. 260–1.

their merits that the belfry was saved. Nonetheless [the king] afterwards roofed the church again with lead.

204. PRINCE ANDREW IS BORN

In the same year, on the feast of St. Andrew the apostle, a son was born to him, whom he called Andrew.⁹⁹⁷

205. FELICIAN WOUNDS THE LADY QUEEN ELIZABETH

⁹⁹⁸In the year of our Lord 1329 his [the king's] son Ladislás died.⁹⁹⁹

206.¹⁰⁰⁰ Although in these times the people of Hungary enjoyed the desired tranquility of peace and the kingdom was on all sides secure against its enemies, yet the hater of peace and the sower of envy,¹⁰⁰¹ the devil, put it into the heart of a certain knight named Felician of the Záh kindred, who was already advanced in years and his hair silvered, that he should in one day kill with his sword his lord King Charles and Queen Elizabeth, and the king's two sons Louis and Andrew.¹⁰⁰² This Felician had been raised to a high position by the former Count Palatine Matthew of Trenčín;

¹⁰⁰⁰ In the manuscripts of the Buda chronicle family a long chapter is added after ch. 205 about archbishop Csanád Telegdi of the Csanád kindred, educated in Italy, bishop of Eger (1322–30, archbishop 1330–49). This chapter gives a detailed picture of his building activity in Esztergom.

¹⁰⁰¹ Canon 13 of the Synod of 1308, see *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis*, p. 284.

¹⁰⁰² The date is testified by the final verdict with a rather similar wording to our chronicle chapter, though April 17 was a Tuesday, as noted in the Mss. of the Buda chronicle family, where the name of Gyula Kenecsics's son, Nicholas is mentioned (SRH 1: p. 494).

[142] tandem relicto Matheo venerat ad regem.¹⁰⁰³ Quem rex regio favore diligens, securo ingressu regis ianua absque obice sibi patebat. Porro cum rex una cum regina et filiis suis prefatis anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXX XV. Kalendas Maii, feria quarta post octavas Pasce in suburbio castri Wysegrad in domo sua pranderet, ante regis mensam clam subintrando idem Felicianus astitit, et evaginato acutissimo gladio, vehementissimo impetu, more canis rabidi inmisericorditer regem, reginam filiosque voluit iugulare. Sed misericordia misericordis Dei prohibente quod voluit, non potuit effectui mancipare. Tamen regis manum dexteram leviter vulneravit. Sed pro dolor, sanctissime regine dextere manus quatuor digitos, quos pauperibus et miserabilibus atque abiectis personis misericorditer in elemosinis extendebat, protinus amputavit. Cum quibus etiam digitis innumerabilibus ecclesiis paramenta varia consuebat, et altaribus sacerdotibusque ornamenta de pretiosis purpulis trans mittebat et calices indefesse.¹⁰⁰⁴ Cum etiam pueros regios ibidem astantes vellet occidere, pedagogi puerorum, videlicet <Nicolaus> filius Gyula de Kenesich et Nicolaus filius Iohannis palatini se interponentes evadentibus pueris memoratis letaliter vulnerantur in capite. Tunc Iohannes filius Alexandri de comitatu Potokensi, bone indolis iuvenis, vicedapifer regine tunc existens, in ipsum Felicianum quasi in cruentam bestiam irrui, et cum bicello inter collum et scapulam fortiter feriendo transfixit et ad terram deiecit.¹⁰⁰⁵ Hinc et inde per hostia gladiatores milites regis gladiis terri-

¹⁰⁰³ In fact Felician was an intimate supporter of the oligarch, and appeared as his representative during political negotiations. His motifs are totally hidden, an Italian contemporary source, and one and a half a century later Jan Długosz suggested that a relative of Queen Elisabeth, Duke Casimir, the future Casimir III king of Poland, seduced Felician's maiden daughter, who was a lady-in-waiting at the queen's court. A possible parallel to this rumor was connected to Gertrudis, queen of Andrew II; see above, ch. 174, pp. 320–1.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The artistic patronage of Queen Elisabeth is well known in Hungary, e.g. in Cenad and Óbuda, and outside the country e.g. in Bari and in Rome, see Brian McEntee "Queen Elisabeth of Hungary (1320–1380) and Óbuda: Patronage, Personality and Place" in: *La Diplomatie des États Angevins aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Actes du colloque international de Szeged, Visegrád, Budapest, 13–16 sep-*

then he had left Matthew and came to the king.¹⁰⁰³ The king had shown him royal favor and love, and his door was always open to him to enter when he wished. In the year of our Lord 1330, on April 17, the Wednesday after the octave of Easter, the king was at dinner with the queen and his sons in his residence at the foot of the castle of Visegrád, when Felician secretly slid in and stood before the king's table. He drew his sharp sword from its scabbard and like a mad dog threw himself upon the king, the queen, and the sons in pitiless desire to kill them. But the pity of a pitiful God prevented him from executing his intent. Yet he slightly wounded the king on the right hand. But, alas, from the right hand of the most saintly queen he severed four fingers, which in her almsgiving she was wont to extend in pity to the poor, the wretched and the downcast. With these fingers she had been wont to sew many-coloured embroideries for innumerable churches, and she was tireless in sending ornamental robes of precious purple for the priests and chalices for the altars.¹⁰⁰⁴ When he tried to also kill the royal princes who were present, their tutors, Gyula Kenecsics's son [Nicholas] and Nicholas, son of the Count Palatine John, placed themselves in his way and received mortal wounds in the head, but the said boys were unhurt. Then John, son of Alexander from the county of Patak, a youth of good disposition who was the queen's second cup-bearer, threw himself upon Felician as upon a wild beast and struck at him with a dagger between the neck and the shoulder with such force that he felled him to the ground.¹⁰⁰⁵ Then through

tembre 2007, Zoltán Kordé, István Petrovics, eds., pp. 209–218 (Rome, Szeged: Accademia d'Ungheria–Università di Szeged, 2010).

¹⁰⁰⁵ A well-to-do landowner from Bars County, Gyula (Julius) Kenecsics's son is mentioned in a charter of 1344 as the tutor (*pedagogus*) of Duke Andrew. Nicholas's father John was count palatine John (1328–1333), as were his brother, Philip (1322–27), and his son, William (1334–42) of the Drugeth family, who accompanied the king from Italy; they served him as his most reliable councilors. Nicholas became later judge royal (1354–55). John, son of Alexander of the Ákos kindred, the queen's second cup-bearer 1330–37, later received the possessions of Felician and the Záh kindred (1332, 1335).

bilibus membratim miserum laniantes, quoddam quasi monstrum gladiis effecerunt. Caput eius Budam mittitur, manus et pedes alii civitatibus destinantur. Denique filius eius unicus¹⁰⁰⁶ adolescens et unus sibi fidelis famulus fugam capientes evadere minime potuerunt, in caudis equorum vite terminum perceperunt. Quorum omnium cadavera canes in platea cum ossibus corroserunt.

207. Et dignum quippe erat, ut Felicianus, qui multos Christicolis membris suis feraliter mutillando privaverat, ipse membris omnibus iusto Dei iudicio privaretur, et qui fuerat tortor pauperum indefessus,¹⁰⁰⁷ [143] a communi morte hominum exclusus canina et subitanea morte moreretur, ut quasi canis cum canibus perciperet portionem. Filia quoque eius Clara vocabulo, virgo pulcherrima de aula regia extrahitur et naribus cum labiis turpiter mutilatis, solum dentibus patefactis et octo digitis ambarum manuum amputatis, pollicibus saltem remanentibus, <per> plurium civitatum vicos et plateas perducta in equo semiviva et misera proclamare compellitur in hec verba: Qui regi infidelis est, per omnia percipiat talionem. Altera insuper filia ipsius Feliciani maior, Sebe nomine, cuidam nobili nomine Kopay matrimonialiter nupta, ante castrum Lewa iussu Emerici dicti de Bechei, castellani ipsius castri capite truncatur, et ipse Kopay in captivitatis vinculo mortis debitum solvit. Filii eiusdem insuper in insulam marinam per cruciferos transportantur, nunquam terram nativam revisuri.¹⁰⁰⁸ Multi denique de ipsius genere Feliciani nobiles trucidantur. Sic igitur Felicianus infelix¹⁰⁰⁹ lese maiestatis crimen incurrit, turbavit regnum, extinxit semen proprium, suam gentem infammavit et per-

¹⁰⁰⁶ Called also Felician, mentioned in the final verdict. The family was punished into the third generation, see Georgius Fejér, *Codex diplomatcus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis* VIII/3, p. 424 (Buda: Regia Universitas, 1843), and *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*, vol. 14, Tibor Almási, and Tamás Kőfalvi, eds., Nr. 288 (Budapest–Szeged, 2004).

¹⁰⁰⁷ As there is no evidence for other crimes of Felician, these words may be nothing but a *damnatio memoriae*.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Kopaj (with a variant Csopaj), from the Vezekényi family was a landowner with possessions in Bars County. Levice is situated in that county. Emeric was *ispán* of

the doors from this side and that the king's swordsmen rushed in and executed him as if he were some monster, severing the wretch's limbs with their terrible swords. His head was sent to Buda and his hands and feet to other cities. His only son,¹⁰⁰⁶ who was a young lad, and a servant who was faithful to him, took to flight, but they were caught and tied to the tails of horses, and thus they ended their life. The bodies were cast into the street, and the dogs gnawed their bones.

207. And it was meet and fitting that Felician, who had cruelly mutilated and dismembered so many followers of Christ, should himself be wholly dismembered by the just judgment of God; and that he who had been tireless in torturing the poor,¹⁰⁰⁷ should be shut out from common human death, and that his portion should be to die suddenly like a dog, being himself a dog. His daughter, named Clara, a most beautiful maiden, was taken away from the royal court; and her nostrils and lips having been foully mutilated so that the teeth were exposed, and the eight fingers having been cut off from both hands so that only the thumbs were left, she was placed half-alive on a horse and led through the streets and squares of many towns, and the wretch was compelled to utter these words: "Whoever is unfaithful to the king, let him suffer in full the like retribution." The elder daughter of Felician, whose name was Sebe and who was married to a nobleman named Kopaj, was beheaded before the castle of Levice by order of Emeric, called of Becse who was the castellan of that castle, and Kopaj was cast into prison and there paid the penalty of death. His sons also were taken by crusaders to an island in the sea, never to behold again their native land.¹⁰⁰⁸ Many nobles from among the kindred of Felician were put to death. Thus the unhappy Felician¹⁰⁰⁹ criminally offended against the royal majesty, threw the kingdom into confusion, extinguished

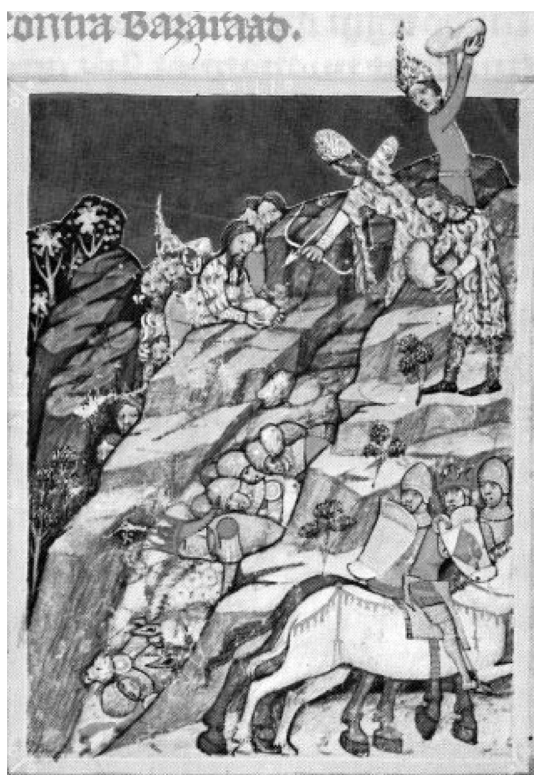
Bars and castellan of Levice (1321–33). The "Crusaders" refer to the Order of St. John, who from 1310 held the Island of Rhodos.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Note the pun of *Felix(ian)-infelix!*

didit, esca canum effectus, solutus a seculo, ligatus est in baratro ac *sepultus in inferno*,¹⁰¹⁰ mundo extitit fabula et infidelibus disciplina. Tam enorme factum uno die vix creditur accidisse.

208. *Hucusque* quo istud accidit, rex Karolus *ventis prosperis navigavit et crispantia maris equora* sue fortune *carina* ad votum *sulcavit*.¹⁰¹¹ Sed iam fortuna vertibilis aversa facie valem faciens terga vertit, quia undique bellis insurgentibus sua expeditio vincebatur, pedum^a etiam ac manuum dolore nimio torquebatur.

209. REX VADIT CUM EXERCITU CONTRA BAZARAAD



¹⁰¹²[144] Nam anno eodem, quo Felicianus indigne memorie periit, videlicet anno Domini M-o CCC-o XXX-o, cum rex copiosum exercitum congregasset, non tamen totum suum posse, quia ad confinia regni sui in diversas expeditiones contra adversarios eiusdem regni quamplurimos destinaverat pugnatores, ipse vero per Zeurim in mense Septembri transtulit se in terram Bazaraad woyvode Vlachorum ad inductionem Thome woyvode Transilvani et Dyonisii filii Nicolai, filii Iancha,¹⁰¹³ que terra est inhabitabilis genti igno-

his own seed, disgraced and ruined his own kin; he was thrown to the dogs for food, cut off from the world, consigned to damnation, and *buried in hell*;¹⁰¹⁰ he became a byword among men and a warning to the unfaithful. It is hard to believe that on a single day such an enormity could have happened.

208. *Until the time* this happened, King Charles *had sailed with favorable winds*; as he desired, *so the ship* of his fortune *furrowed the rippled expanse of the sea*.¹⁰¹¹ But now mutable fortune averted her face and turned her back in farewell; for in the wars that arose on all sides his forces were defeated, and also his feet and hands became twisted and exceedingly painful.

209. THE KING MARCHES WITH HIS ARMY AGAINST BASARAB

¹⁰¹²For in the same year as perished Felician of accursed memory, namely in the year of our Lord 1330, in the month of September, the king, at the suggestion of Thomas, voivode of Transylvania, and Denis, son of Nicholas, who was the son of Janka,¹⁰¹³ marched with a large army—but not all his forces, for he had sent many warriors on divers expeditions against enemies on the frontiers of the realm—by way of Severin to the land of Basarab, voivode of the Vlachs, which is uninhabitable land for those not

^a pedum] peduum *Ms*

¹⁰¹⁰ Lk 16: 22.

¹⁰¹¹ Jerome, *Letters* 108. 28 (CCSL 55, p. 345).

¹⁰¹² Hist. in: Crowned king (Charles) girded with sword receives a letter presented by long-haired figure in long green dress holding his hat in his hands.

¹⁰¹³ Thomas of the Kacsics kindred, was voivode of Transylvania 1321–42, and Denis, son of Nicholas of the Balog kindred, who was the son of Janka, Master of the Butlers 1322–36.

te,¹⁰¹⁴ ut de ipsa terra ipsum Bazarad rex expelleret, aut¹⁰¹⁵ certe terram ipsius uni ipsorum insultantium traderet possidendam, cum tamen ipse princeps censum debitum regie maiestati semper fideliter persolvisset.¹⁰¹⁶ Cum autem rex Zeurim et castrum ipsius recepisset, Dyonisio tradidit memorato omnia cum dignitate banatus.¹⁰¹⁷ Quo facto Bazarad regi sic mandavit nuncios per honestos: Quia vos, domine mi rex, laborastis in convocatione exercitus, laborem vestrum reconpensabo VII milibus marcarum argenti. Ipsam etiam Zeurim cum suis atinentiis, <que> nunc habetis pre manibus per potentiam, pacifice vobis tradam. Insuper censum, quo teneor vestre corone, fideliter persolvi faciam omni anno. Et nichilominus unum ex filiis meis vestre curie ad serviendum deputabo cum meis pecuniis et expensis, tantummodo revertimini in pace vestra et personarum periculis precavete^a, quia si veneritis ulterius, periculum minime evadetis. Quo audito rex elata mente in tale verbum prorupit, nunciis sic dicens: Sic dicite Bazarad: ipse est pastor ovium mearum, de suis latibulis per barbas suas extraham. Tunc quidem fidelis baro, Donch nomine, comes de Zolio et de Liptou¹⁰¹⁸ sic ait regi: Domine, cum magna humilitate vobis et ad honorem vestrum ipse Bazarad loquitur, idcirco regie benignitatis favorem et plenam dilectionem gratie sibi velitis per [145]vestras litteras remandare. Tunc rex verbum superbie et conminationis superius propositum iteravit, relicto consilio saniori protinus ultra pugnaturus processit. Et cum sibi et suis in terra ignota et inter alpes et montes silvarum victualia

^a precavete] precavente *Ms*

¹⁰¹⁴ Basarab I voivode of Wallachia (1316–52) had occupied the region of the banate of Severin with the help of the Bulgarians and provoked a punitive campaign of Charles I who was trying to reorganize the borderlands that had been under Hungarian control in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Hungarians who had advanced south of Sibiu via the narrow pass of Turnu Roșu, at a place, called Posada were totally defeated on November 9–12 1330.

¹⁰¹⁵ The reading *ac* (and) in the Roman manuscript makes more sense since the Wallachian had to be removed before Charles could have granted the land to anyone.

¹⁰¹⁶ Wallachian rulers on and off acknowledged Hungarian suzerainty; see István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 134–48.

acquainted with it.¹⁰¹⁴ He intended to drive out Basarab from his land or¹⁰¹⁵ to grant it to one of these instigators, although the duke had always faithfully paid the tribute due to the royal majesty.¹⁰¹⁶ When the king had occupied Severin and his castle, he gave them over to the aforesaid Denis, and raised him to the rank of ban.¹⁰¹⁷ Thereafter, Basarab sent this message to the king by trustworthy messengers: "Because you, my lord the king, have been at great labor to assemble an army, I will recompense you for your labor with seven thousand marks of silver. Severin and all that belongs with it, which you have taken into your hands by force, I will hand over to you in peace. The tribute by which I am bound to your crown I will cause to be paid faithfully every year. Further, I will send one of my sons to serve in your court at my charge and expense. Only do you return in peace, and beware lest you bring yourself and those with you into danger; for if you come farther, you shall not escape dangers." When the king heard this, he was roused and broke forth to the messengers in these words: "Say this to Basarab: He is the shepherd of my sheep, and I will drag him by his beard from his lair." Then a faithful baron, Dancs by name, *ispán* of Zólyom and Liptó, spoke to the king thus:¹⁰¹⁸ "Sire, Basarab addresses you with great humility and respect, and, therefore, in your letters you should deign to assure him of your royal favor and of the fullness of your affection." Then the king repeated his previous proud and threatening words. Thus rejecting the sounder counsel, he went onwards to do battle. Among the high mountains and forests of this unknown country they could find no provisions, and the king himself and his warriors and the horses soon began to suffer hunger. They, therefore, made

¹⁰¹⁷ Denis as ban of Severin appears in the charters between 1335 and 1341, though it is not unlikely that he was first appointed in 1330. The authority of the ban seems to have been restricted to Orșova and to some other border castles (Turnu Severin was not among them).

¹⁰¹⁸ Dancs Zólyomi from the Balassa family, held the *honor* of being the *ispán* of Zólyom and Liptó (1315–38), and of several other counties.

invenire nequirent, famis inedia ipse rex, milites et equi sui laborare protinus ceperunt. Quo facto treuga ordinata cum Bazarad et data fide, ut ipse regi pareret et securitatem regi cum suis omnibus redeundi preberet et iter rectum ostenderet. Rex revertebatur securus, confidens de fide perfidi scismatici.¹⁰¹⁹ Venit in quandam viam cum toto exercitu, que via erat in circuitu et in utraque parte ripis prominentibus circumclusa et ante, unde erat dicta via patentior, indaginibus in pluribus locis fortiter fuerat circumsepta per Vlachos. Rex autem et sui omnes nichil tale quid penitus opinantes, in ripis undique Vlachorum multitudo innumeralis superius discurrendo iacula iacentes super regis exercitum, qui erant in fundo depresse vie, que nec via dici potest, sed quasi navis stricta, ubi propter pressuram cedebant^a dextrarii fortissimi cum militibus circumquaque. Quia nec ad ripas utriusque lateris vie propter precipitium ascendere poterant contra Vlachos, nec ultra procedere, nec fuge locum habebant propter indagines ibi factas, sed erant omnino sicut pisces in gurgustio vel in rethe comprehensi. Cadebant iuvenes et senes, principes et potentes sine del^ectu.^b Duravit quippe sic iste miserabilis eventus a sexta feria usque ad secundam feriam, in quibus diebus collidebantur invicem milites electi, sicut in cunis moventur et agitantur infantes, vel sicut arundines, que vento moventur. Facta est autem ibi strages maxima et cecidit militum et principum ac nobilium incomputabilis multitudo feria sexta in vigilia Beati Martini et post insequenti. Ibi etiam occubuerunt tres prepositi, videlicet magister Andreas prepositus Albensis ecclesie, vir valde venerabilis, vicecancellarius regie maiestatis existens, cum sigillo regis periit. Item Michael prepositus de Posoga et Nicolaus prepositus de Alba Transilvana, item Andreas plebanus de Sarus et frater Petrus de ordine Predicatorum, vir honestus, dire mortis poculum acceperunt, quia in cerebra capitum eorum ligneos clavos miserabiliter affixerunt. [146] Quidam etiam sacerdotes, qui erant capellani regis, sunt occisi. Cumanorum denique corrui inestimabilis mul-

^a cedebant] *M*s

^b del^ectu] *M*s

a truce with Basarab, who pledged his word that he would obey the king and ensure him and all his men a safe return and show them the right road. So the king turned back without misgiving, trusting in the good faith of the perfidious schismatic.¹⁰¹⁹ With his whole army he came to a defile where the road was surrounded on either side by steep slopes; and ahead, where it broadened out, the way was blocked by strong barriers which the Vlachs had set up at many points. The king and all his men suspected nothing, and then from the top of the slopes on either side countless numbers of Vlachs running back and forth hurled down missiles upon the king's army on the road below. It could not be called a road, but it was rather like the narrow hold of a ship, in which fighting men and strong warhorses were so pressed against each other that everywhere they fell to the ground. The sides of the defile were so precipitous that it was impossible to climb up them against the Vlachs nor could they go forwards because of the barriers; with no place to escape, they were like fishes trapped in a weir or caught in a net. Without distinction they fell, the young and the old, the princes and the powerful. From Friday until Monday this was their miserable plight, and during these days the strongest warriors were thrown helplessly one against the other, like babies rocked in a cradle or reeds trembling in the wind. Great was the slaughter and the number of warriors, magnates, and nobles who fell there on the Friday before the feast of the blessed Martin and the days following was beyond reckoning. Three priors there met their death. Master Andrew, prior of the church of Fehérvár, a most venerable man and the king's vice-chancellor, perished there, and with him the king's seal was lost. Michael, prior of Požega, and Nicholas, prior of Alba Iulia also died. Andrew, parish priest of Velký Šariš, and Brother Peter of the Order of the Preachers, a man of great virtue, had to take the cup of a dreadful death, for they were brained with wooden clubs. Priests who were chaplains to the king were killed. Count-

¹⁰¹⁹ The Wallachians (Romanians) were Orthodox Christians.

titudo.¹⁰²⁰ Cadavera enim omnium, tam virorum ecclesiasticorum quam laycorum nobilium in loco certaminis ibidem tempus resurrectionis generalis expectant, nec cari eorum potuerunt suos dilectos propter hostium incursus aliquatenus rehabere. Tulerunt enim Vlachi multos captivos, tam vulneratos quam illesos, et acceperunt plurima arma vestesque pretiosas omnium elisorum, pecuniamque in auro et argento, in vasis pretiosis et baltheis et multa marsupia latorum grossorum et equos multos cum sellis et frenis, que omnia portaverunt et tradiderunt ipsi Bazarad voyvode. Rex autem mutaverat armorum suorum insignia, quibus induerat Deseu filium Dyonisii, quem putantes esse regem crudeliter occiderunt.¹⁰²¹ Rex vero ipse cum paucis per tuitionem suorum aliquorum fidelium vix evasit. Stabant enim in circuitu eius quasi muri lapidei: magister Donch cum Ladizlao filio suo et militibus aliis de familia regis et



magister Martinus filius Berend, qui omnes ictus gladiorum et sagittarum super se recipiebant, velud ymbres pluviarum, ut regis vita a mortis impetu servaretur.¹⁰²² Cadebant etiam in circuitu exercitus undique de canina multitudine Vlachorum quasi *musce*, que perdiderunt suavitatem unguenti,¹⁰²³ cum Christianum populum et unctos Christi sacerdotes inmisericorditer percusserunt. Quorum Vlachorum numerum ibi per Hungaros occisorum subtilis solummodo infernalis conpotista collegit. Rex autem cum

less numbers of the Cumans were also slaughtered.¹⁰²⁰ The bodies of all these men, ecclesiastic and lay dignitaries, lie on the field of battle, awaiting the general resurrection; and their dear ones, because of attacks by the enemy, could not recover the bodies of their beloved. The Vlachs carried many away captive, both wounded and uninjured, and from the bodies of the fallen they took many weapons and much precious raiment, money in silver and gold, costly vessels and baldrics, many purses heavy with coins, and many horses with saddles and bridles, all which they carried away and gave to the Voivode Basarab. The king himself had changed his coat of arms for those of Desiderius son of Denis, who was cruelly slain, as they took him for the king.¹⁰²¹ The king barely escaped with a few, protected by his faithful men. Like a wall of stone there stood around him, Master Dancs with his son Ladislas and other men of the royal household, and Master Martin, the son of Berend, and upon themselves they took the heavy rain of arrows and sword strokes in order that the king's life might be preserved against the onrush of death.¹⁰²² While like a pack of dogs they set upon the Christian people and slaughtered without mercy Christ's anointed priests, around the army the Vlachs fell on every side, like *flies spoiling the sweetness of the ointment*.¹⁰²³ How many of the Vlachs were there killed by the

¹⁰²⁰ Master Andrew, prior of Fehérvár, was vice chancellor from 1323–30. As a parish priest of Velky Šariš, he was probably a retainer of William Drugeth, who was *ispán* of Sáros County. Brother Peter of the Dominican Order, confessor of the king, prior of the convent at Fehérvár, has been sent as a diplomat to the pope in 1317. Cumans were an integral part of the Hungarian army as light cavalymen ever since the late thirteenth century.

¹⁰²¹ Desiderius son of Denis of the Héder kindred, was master of the court of the queen 1323–30 and *ispán* of Sopron 1326–30.

¹⁰²² Master Dancs's son, Ladislas was *ispán* of Győr in 1333, died in 1347. Master Martin, the son of Berend from the Acsai family, held the *honor* of *ispán* of several counties between 1323 and 1346.

¹⁰²³ Eccl 10: 1.

tali eventu venit in Vyssegrad. Porro cum Hungari fortissima et durissima prelia ubique gessissent, istud tamen eis accidit, ne propter victoria<ru>m frequentiam superbirent, vel certe post superbiam precedentem corripenterentur, ut humilitatem discerent et docerent, quatenus.^{a, 1024}

^a *Testantibus aliis chronicis textus hic interruptus sic continuatur* divine dilectionis gratiam per paterne correctionis flagella impressius mererentur, nam Deus pater illos *corripit, quos diligit*.

Hungarians is known only to the subtle keeper of the reckoning in hell. Thus did the king come back to Visegrád. After the Hungarians had battled everywhere most bravely and most hard, this had to happen to them lest their many victories might make them proud, or rather in order that having become proud they should be chastised, so that they might learn and teach humility so that¹⁰²⁴

[through the blows of fatherly correction they more merited the grace of divine love: for God the Father *chastises those whom He loves*.¹⁰²⁵]

¹⁰²⁴ The MS ends here in mid-sentence.

¹⁰²⁵ Hebr 12: 6.

APPENDIX¹⁰²⁶

210. Anno Domini millesimo CCC-o vicesimo secundo in festo sancti regis Stephani habuit rex filium, quem Stephanum voluerunt nuncupare.¹⁰²⁷

211. *deest in Mss familiae Chronici Picti*

212. DE OBITU REGIS CAROLI ET CORONATIONE DUCIS LODOUICI FILII EIUSDEM.

Porro sepenominatus rex Carolus continuis et gravissimis infirmitatibus laborans, quas maxime in pedibus a longo tempore patiebatur et per eas nimium afficiebatur, ad extremum deveniens anno Domini millesimo CCC-mo XL-mo secundo illucescente feria tertia proxima post festum Beate Margarethe virginis in suo castro, loco scilicet habitationis sue de Wisegrad fine laudabili migravit ad Dominum.¹⁰²⁸ Cuius corpus in Albensi ecclesia terre gremio conditum est. Regnavit autem a tempore sue coronationis XXX-ta II. annis. Cui successit prenominatus dux Lodouicus filius eius, quem in eadem ecclesia Albensi tertio [die] post tumulationem patris sui, videlicet die Dominica proxima ante festum Beati Iacobi apostoli, reverendi in Christo patres, domini Chanadi <nus>] archiepiscopus Strigoniensis, Ladislaus Quinqueecclesiensis, Nicolaus Agriensis, Mesko Wesprimiensis, Petrus Syrimiensis, Vitus Nitiensis, Colomanus Iauriensis et Laurentius Boznensis ecclesiarum episcopi ceterique prelati cum consensu et voluntate unanimi omnium ba-

¹⁰²⁶ For completion's sake added from other manuscripts of the chronicle; for these, see J. M. Bak and R. Grzesik, "The text of the IC", in *Studies*, pp. 5–6.

APPENDIX¹⁰²⁶

210. In the year of our Lord 1332, on the feast of St. Stephen, a son was born to the king, and they resolved to give him the name of Stephen.¹⁰²⁷

212. THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES AND THE CORONATION OF PRINCE LOUIS, HIS SON

Constantly laboring under the most heavy infirmities from which he had for a long time especially suffered in the feet, and by which he had been sorely afflicted, in the year of our Lord 1342 the renowned King Charles moved towards his last days, and in the dawn of the Tuesday after the feast of the blessed Margaret the virgin, in his castle where he dwelt at Visegrád, he made a blessed end and went to the Lord.¹⁰²⁸ His body was committed to the bosom of the earth in the church of Fehérvár. He reigned from the time of his coronation thirty-two years. He was succeeded by his son, the aforesaid Prince Louis. In the same church of Fehérvár, on the third day after the burial of his father, which was the Sunday before the feast of the blessed James the Apostle, the reverend fathers in Christ, the lords Csanád, archbishop of Esztergom, the bishops Ladislas of Pécs, Nicholas of Eger, Mescó of Veszprém, Peter of Srem, Vitus of Nitra, Coloman of Győr, and Lawrence of Bosnia, and other prelates, with the consent and unanimous will of all the barons and nobles of the whole realm of Hungary anointed him

¹⁰²⁷ Born on 20 August 1332, Stephen, counted as the heir of the Hungarian throne for a long time, died on August 9 1354. He married Margaret, the daughter of Emperor Louis the Bavarian; they had two children, John and Elisabeth; after the death of Prince Stephen they were regarded for a while as Louis' heirs.

¹⁰²⁸ He died on 16 July 1342; the feast of St. Margaret is in fact on July 13.

ronum et nobilium universorum totius regni Hungarie in regem inungentes cum sancta corona gloriose coronarunt.¹⁰²⁹ Ubi ipsum regem vir magnificus, Thomas vayvoda Transsilvanus, quo tunc temporis potior nemo haberetur, et quem etiam iam dictus rex Carolus pie memorie super omnes alios barones regni ultra modum dilexerat ac exaltaverat, gladio accinxit,¹⁰³⁰ et ab ipso rege regali beneficio est remuneratus. Tandem ipsum regem sacris insignibus sancti regis Stephani indutum ac decoratum, habentem sanctam coronam in capite, deducentes in regali throno sedere fecerunt; promittens nichilominus supradictus rex Lodovicus assistantibus imo petitionibus omnibus prelati et baronibus ac nobilibus supranominatis, quod omnes nobiles sui regni in speciali dilectione haberet et in suis libertatibus conservaret. Deinde ipse rex Lodovicus Budam veniens, ibi omni populo ac civibus et clero virisque religionis omnibus cum magna reverentia et honore est susceptus, prout regiam decet maiestatem.¹⁰³¹ Qui etiam in brevi abinde iterum in Visegrad se transtulit moraturum.

¹⁰²⁹ He was crowned on 21 July by Csanád Telegdi, the archbishop of Esztergom (1330–49); the bishops: Ladislás Kőrögyi of Pécs (1315–46); Nicholas Dörögdi of Eger (1330–61); Mieszko of Veszprém (1335–43); Peter of Srem (1336–47); Vitus Vasvári of Nitra (1335–47); Coloman of Győr (1338–75), the natural son of Charles I and the daughter of Gyürke the standard-bearer from the Csák kindred (cf. ch. 196); and Lawrence of Bosnia (1338–47).

king and crowned him gloriously with the Holy Crown.¹⁰²⁹ The eminent Thomas, voivode of Transylvania, than whom there was at that time none more powerful, and whom the aforesaid King Charles of blessed memory had loved beyond measure and exalted above all the other barons of the kingdom, girded him with the sword,¹⁰³⁰ and the king rewarded him with a royal benefice. In the splendor of his robes and the sacred insignia of King St. Stephen, and bearing the Holy Crown upon his head, the king was led forth to be seated upon the royal throne. To all the above named prelates, barons, and nobles who were present, King Louis made a solemn promise in response to their petitions that he would hold all the nobles of his kingdom in special love and maintain them in their liberties. Then King Louis came to Buda, and there he was received by all the people and the citizens and by the clergy and all the religious with great reverence and honor, as befits royal majesty.¹⁰³¹ He departed thence after a short time to dwell in Visegrád.

¹⁰³⁰ His role in the coronation—holding the sword—is represented on a fresco in the church of Spiška Kapitula, see Dušan Buran, *et al.* eds., *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* [Gothic. History of visual art of Slovakia], p. 131. (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria v Bratislave—Slovart, 2003).

¹⁰³¹ This summary description of the inauguration tallies well with what we know about later medieval coronation of kings of Hungary; see Fügedi, *Kings, Bishops*, ch. I.

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GAZETTEER OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Abbreviations for Languages

Cr: Croatian	It: Italian	Se: Serbian	T: Turkish
Ge: German	Pl: Polish	Sl: Slovak	Uk: Ukrainian
Hu: Hungarian	Ro: Romanian	Slo: Slovenian	

*Form used in translation
(usually present-day
place name)*

Other variants

Alba Iulia	Gyulafehérvár (Hu), Karlsburg/Weissenburg (Ge)
Bács	Bač (Se), Batsch (Ge)
Banatska Palanka	Haram (Ópalánka) (Hu)
Belgrade	Beograd (Se), Nándorfehérvár, Belgrád (Hu), Belgrad (Ge)
Biharia	Bihar(vár) (Hu)
Borsova	Vari (Uk)
Braničevo	Barancs (Hu)
Cenad	Csanád (Hu), Tschanad (Ge)
Cheresig	Körösszeg (Hu)
Crișul, river	Körös(Hu), Kreisch (Ge)
Dăbâca	Doboka (Hu)
Fehérvár	Székesfehérvár (Hu), Stuhlweissenburg (Ge)
Güssing	Németújvár (Hu)
Győr	Raab (Ge)
Hadrianopolis–Idropolis	Edirne (T)
Hlohovec	Galgóc (Hu), Freistadt (Ge)
Hron, river	Garam (Hu), Gran (Ge)
Igriș	Egres(Hu), Egrisch (Ge)

*Form used in translation
(usually present-day
place name)*

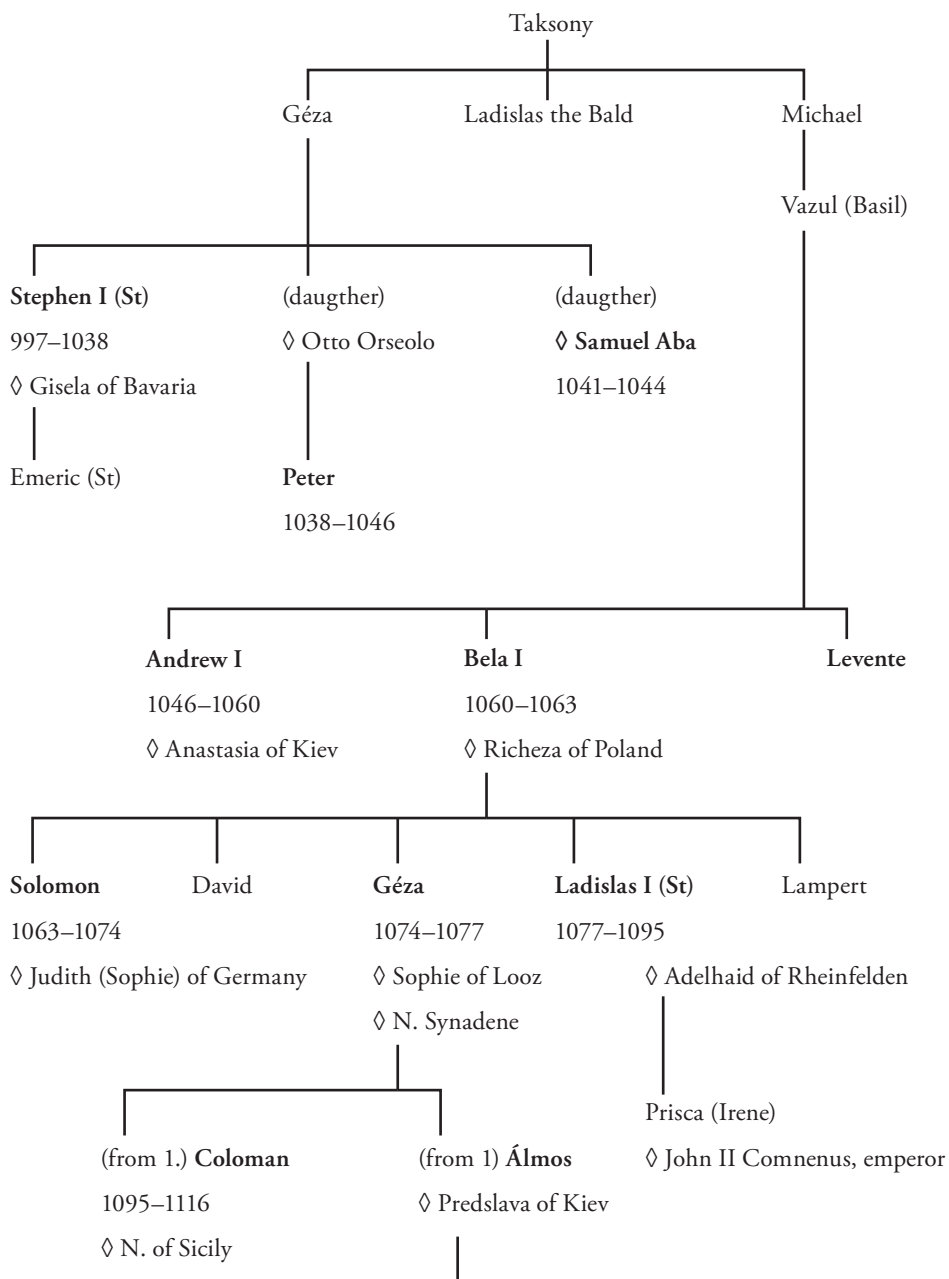
Other variants

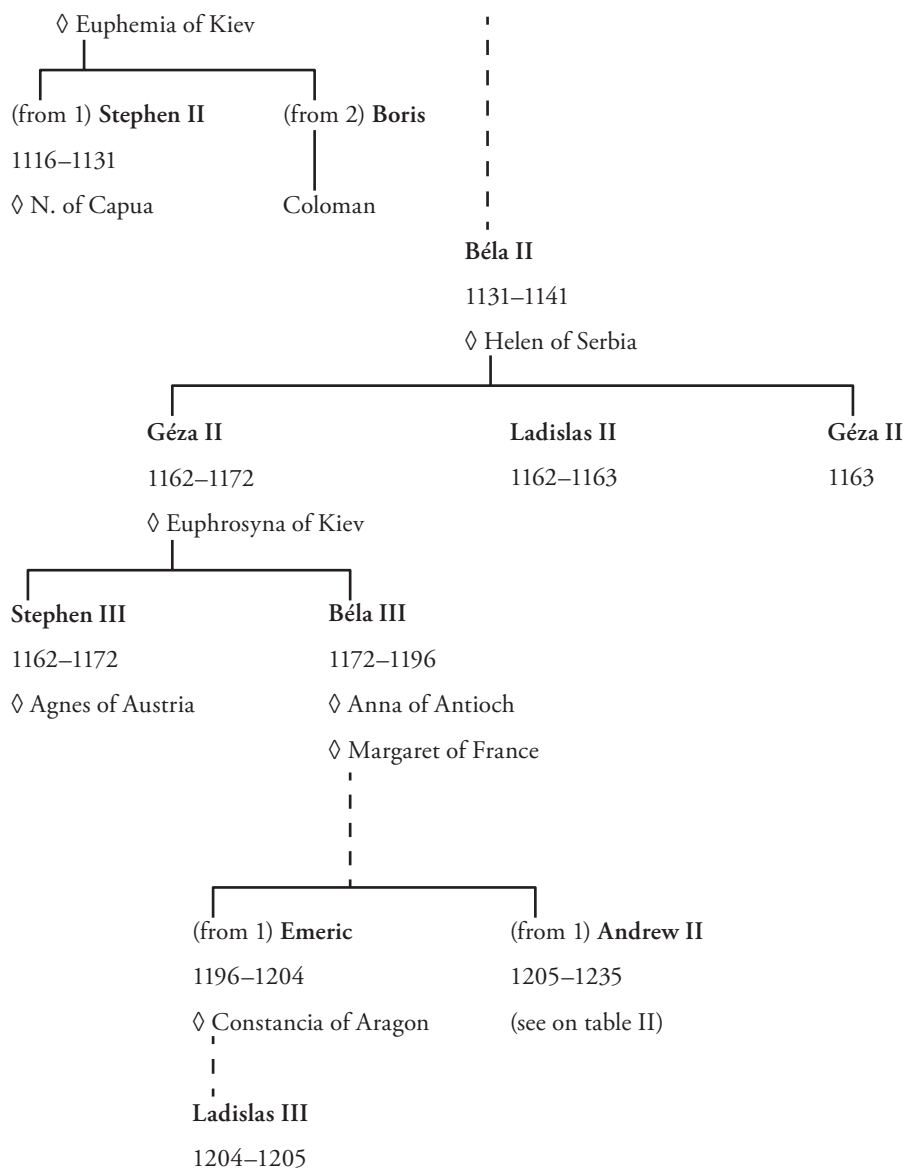
Ilok	Újlak(Hu), Illok (Ge)
Karasz	Krassó(Hu)
Koper	Capo d'Istria/Capodistria (It), Gafers (Ge)
Košice	Kassa (Hu), Kaschau (Ge)
Kovin	Keve(Hu), Temeschkubin (Ge)
Levice	Léva (Hu), Lewenz (Ge)
Lipova	Lippa (Hu)
Liptov	Liptó (Hu), Liptau (Ge), Liptów (Pl)
Ljubljana	Laibach (Ge)
Martinsdorf	Nagymarton(Hu), Mattersburg(Ge)
Mezősul	Meszes (Hu)
Morava, river	Morva (Hu), March (Ge)
Moson	Mosonmagyaróvár (Hu), Wieselburg (Ge)
Nin	Nona (It)
Nitra	Nyitra (Hu), Neutra (Ge)
Olomouc	Olmütz (Ge)
Oradea	Warod/Nagyvárad (Hu), Grosswardein (Ge)
Poreč	Parenzo (It)
Požega	Pozsega(Hu), Poschega (Ge)
Pressburg	Pozsony (Hu), Bratislava (Sl)
Pula	Pola (It)
Rozhanovce	Rozgony (Hu), Roschonowetz (Ge)
Sabaria	Szombathely (Hu), Steinamanger (Ge)
Sár	Lajta (Hu), Leitha (Ge)
Šarišský Hrad	Sáros (Hu), Scharosch (Ge)
Senj	Segna (It), Zengg (Hu, Ge)
Severin	Szörény (Hu), Severin (Ge)
Šibenik	Sebenico (It)
Sibiu	Nagyszeben (Hu), Hermannstadt (Ge)

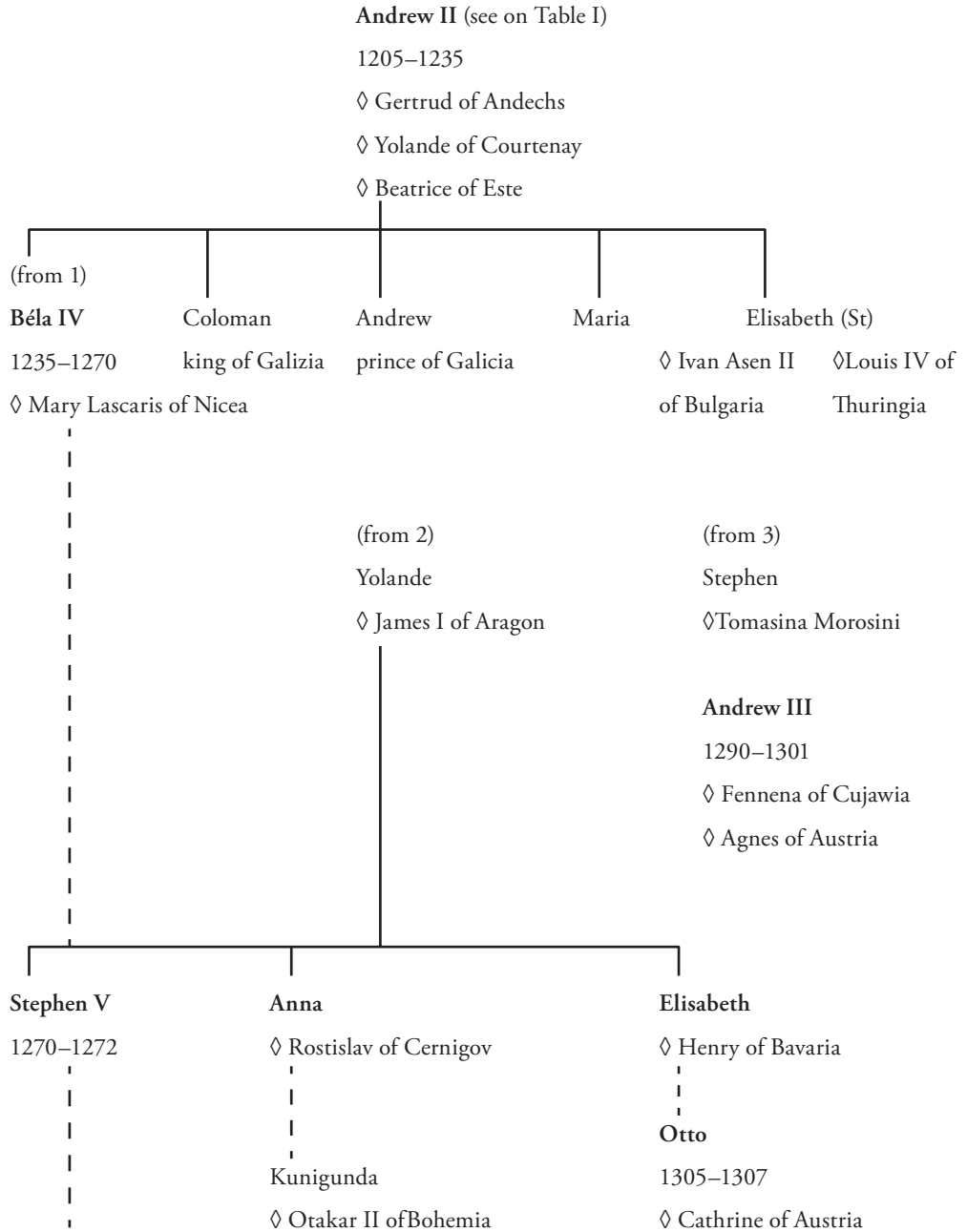
Form used in translation
(usually present-day
place name)

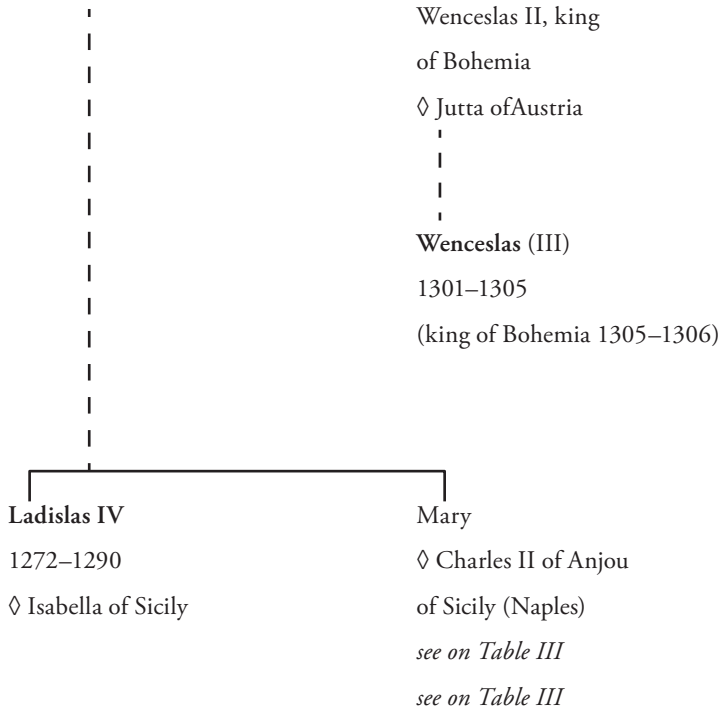
Other variants

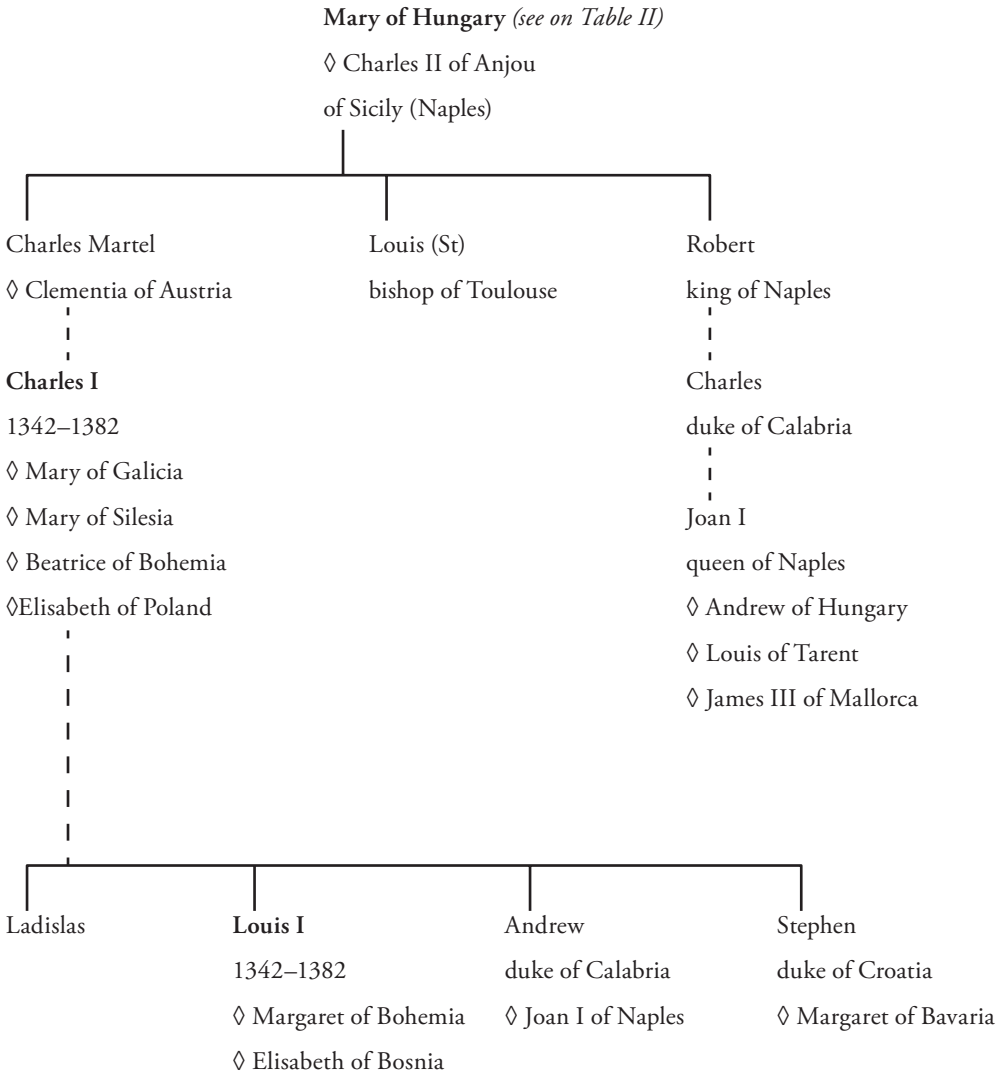
Skradin	Scardona (It)
Slankamen	Szalánkemén (Hu), Stari Slankamen (Se), Alt-Slankamen (Ge)
Solin	Salona (It)
Sopron	Ödenburg (Ge)
Spiš	Szepes (Hu), Zips (Ge), Spisz (Pl)
Split	Spalato (It)
Timiș	Temes(Hu), Temesch (Ge), Tamiš (Se)
Timișoara	Temesvár (Hu), Temeswar (Ge)
Trenčín	Trencsén (Hu), Trentschin (Ge)
Trieste	Trieszt (Hu), Triest (Ge)
Trogir	Traù (It)
Ung	Už (Uk), Uh (Sl)
Váh, river	Vág (Hu), Waag (Ge)
Zemun (today in Beograd)	Zimony (Hu), Semlin (Ge)
Žitava (mouth of ther river)	Zsitvatő (Hu)
Zvolen	Zólyom (Hu), Altsohl (Ge)











The Illuminated Chronicle (formerly called the Vienna Chronicle), an illustrated codex written in 1358, represents the international artistic style at the royal court of Louis I of Hungary. Its text, presented here in a new edition and translation, is the most complete record of medieval historical tradition in Hungary, going back to the eleventh century and the mythical past of the people. The 147 pictures are great source of information on medieval cultural history, costume, and court life in the fourteenth century. The artistic value of the miniatures is quite high, the characters are drawn with detail and with knowledge of anatomy. Forty-two of the miniatures are inserted into the text of the present volume.

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